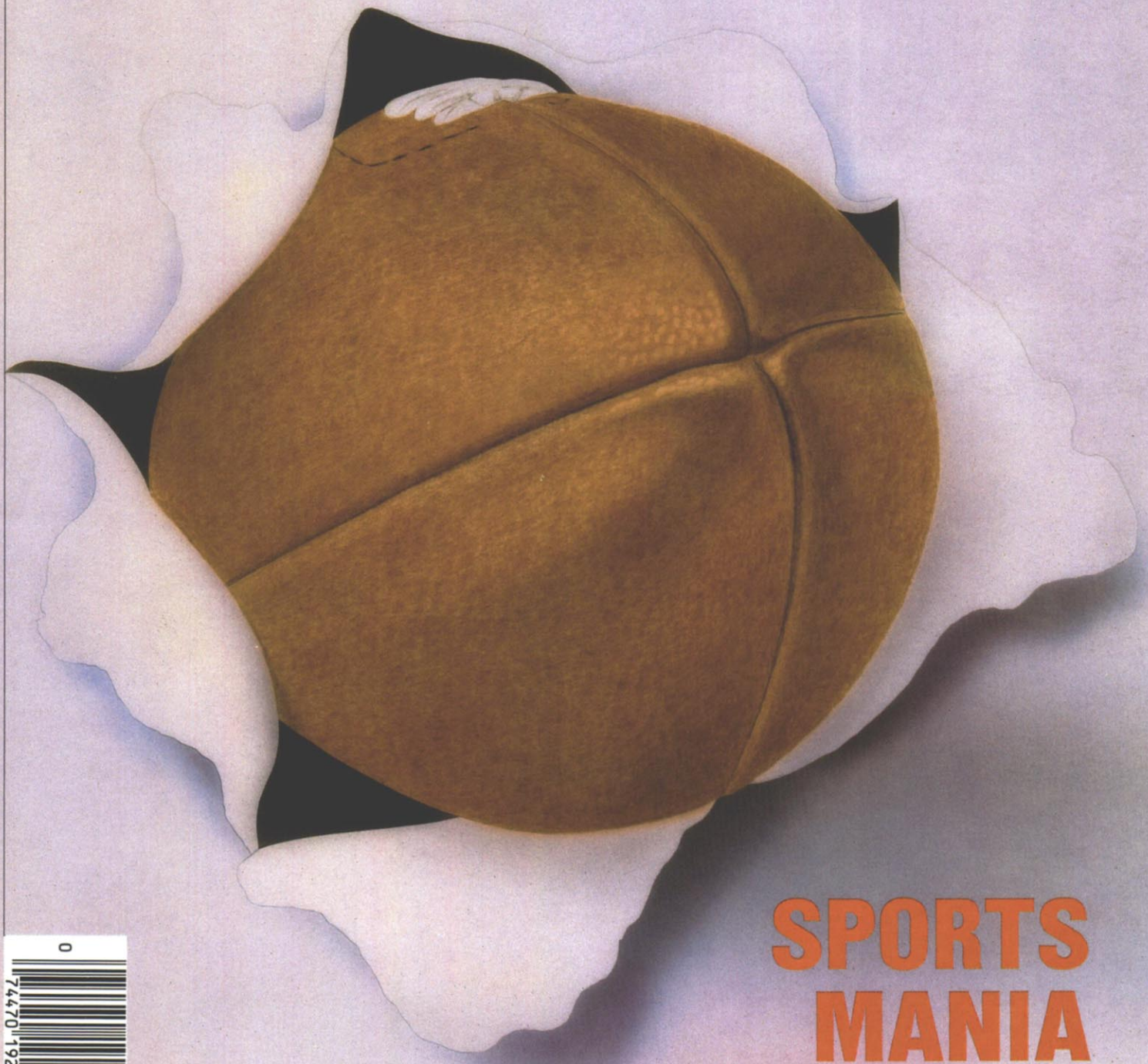
om Bradley's troubles

ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

NOVEMBER 1989 $3.50

CALIFORNIA Journal



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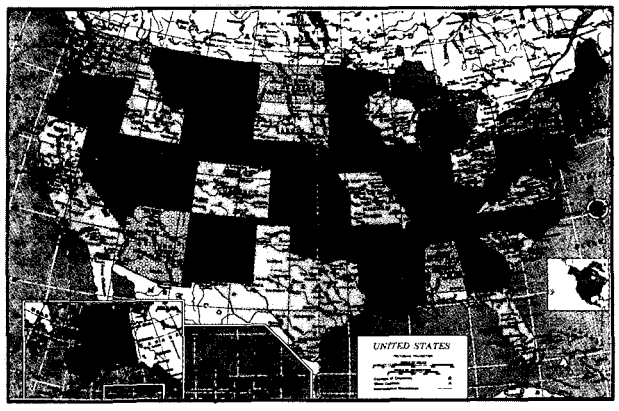

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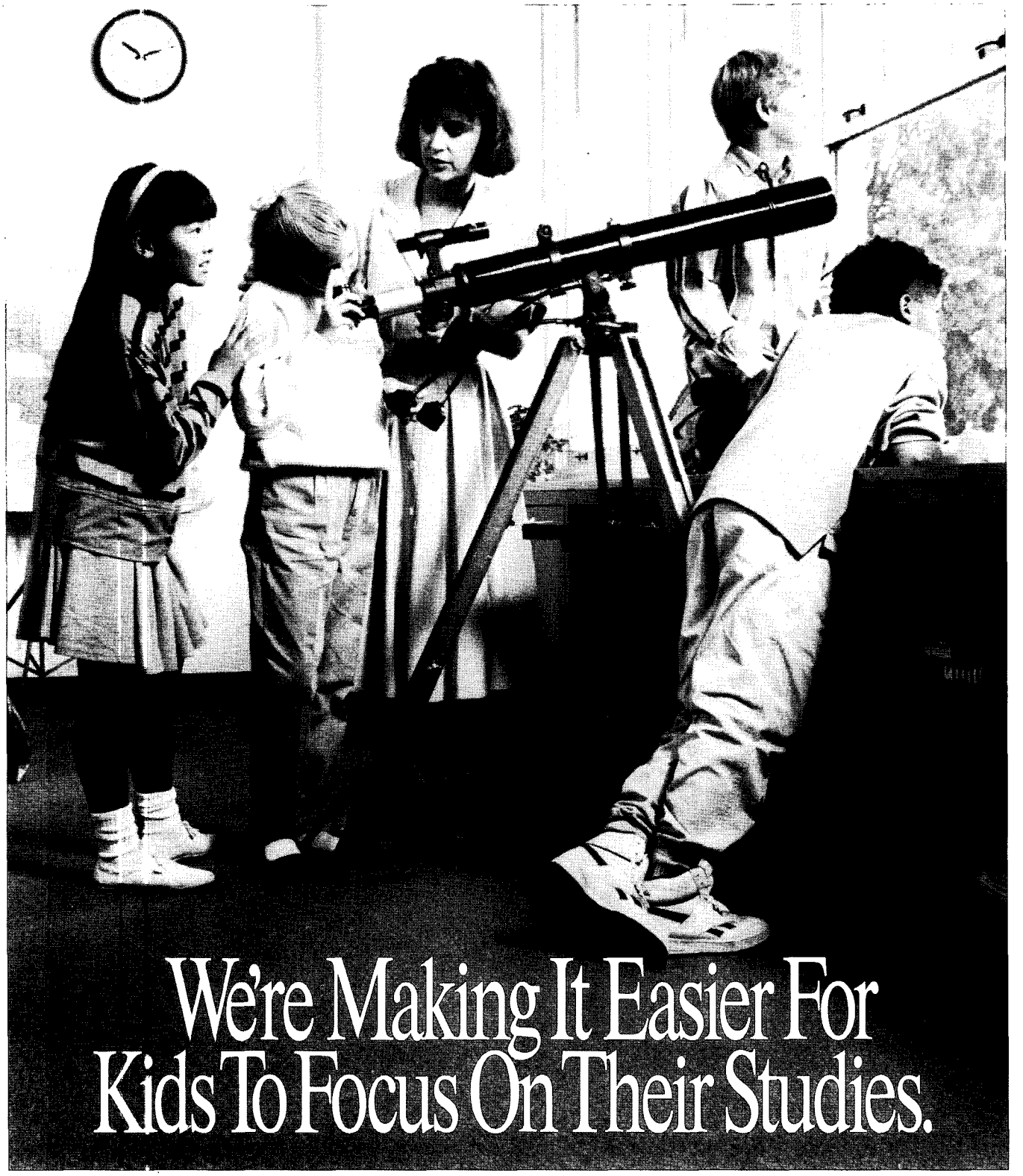

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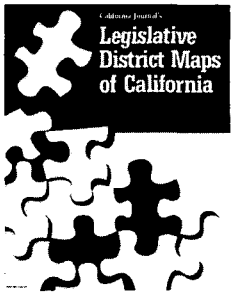

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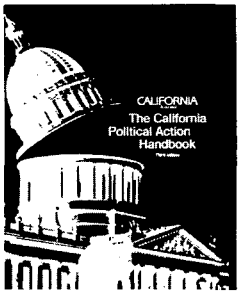

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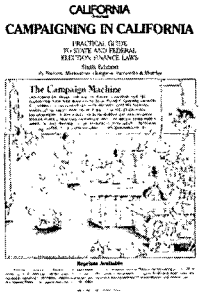

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CALIFORNIA Journal

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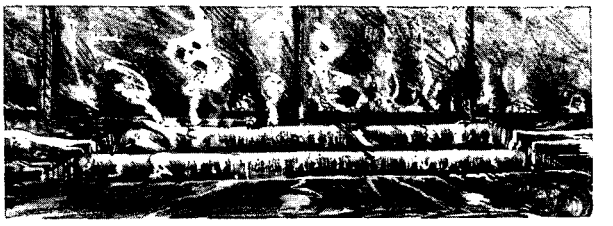

Cover art by Deborah Hardesty

President and Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Business Manager,** Barbara Rocco; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Staff,** Ellen Chapman, Marnie Fesmire, Dori Meyers, Hope Tuttle, Susan Uher; **Counsel,** Conrad Lee Klein.

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

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Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814

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UP FRONT

Republican entrepreneurism is alive and well, even if Sam Pierce is gone from HUD. According to the *Washington Post*, an enterprising Republican from Illinois used a fund-raising letter from the party's National Senatorial Committee in an attempt to pad his own bank account. Seems Larry Smith, from Harrisburg, Illinois, was sent a letter from President George Bush, saying that Smith had been accepted into the Republican Senatorial Inner Circle. Two days later, Smith got another letter from former GOP Senator Howard Baker, asking for a $1000 Inner Circle membership fee. For his money, Smith would be invited to Washington in early October for briefings where he could "talk one-on-one with some of the most important people in government," including every member of the Bush cabinet, senior White House aides and a battalion of Republican lawmakers. There would also be a chance to see the President, Baker wrote.

What happened next, according to the *Post*, was Republican entrepreneurism run amok. Calling himself a "federal relations" expert with insider status in the administration, Smith wrote letters to major corporations offering to lobby on their behalf for fees ranging from $1000 to $4000. Smith was not registered as a lobbyist in Washington, D.C.

The Republican Senatorial Committee frowned on Smith's ingenuity, however. Executive Director Doyce Boesch sent Smith a registered letter, kicking him out of the Inner Circle. Boesch returned Smith's $1000 fee and warned him not to show up at the October meeting, the *Post* reported. He also accused Smith of "entirely inappropriate" activities.

Trivia question: Which segment of the economy spent the most money to lobby state government in 1988? Manufacturing, you say? Close; it was second with $11.8 million. Finance and Insurance? Nah; it was third at $8.9 million. Health? Getting colder; it was fourth with $8.5 million. Labor? Way off at a measly $1.3 million.

Give up?

Try government. Government, including the education sector, spent close to $15 million on lobbying. Education accounted for nearly $6 million; other government entities spent $9.1 million, according to a report compiled by the state Fair Political Practices Commission. Education organizations included the state's school districts, community college districts and universities. Other governments included cities, counties, water districts, transit districts, cemetery districts, fire districts, ad nauseam. It did *not* include money spent by the state for in-house lobbyists who work for government agencies.

According to the report, the California Manufacturers Association led all lobbyist employers by forking over $2.2 million for lobbying activities in 1988. Second on the list? A government entity, naturally: the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, which spent $1.1 million. Spritz that through your garden hose.

Oh it's beer, beer, beer. We've been getting a lot of correspondence lately from the Beer Drinkers of America. They want us to know that they are a "national grassroots organization" committed to tough drunk-driving laws, the education of beer drinkers about responsibility and moderation (their motto is "party smart") and — oh yes — fair tax policies for beer drinkers. Seems they are a little concerned about the planned ballot initiative that would boost liquor taxes and similar proposal at the federal level. The beer drinkers figure the excise tax boost on wholesale liquor will increase costs by 53 cents per six-pack, although sponsors of the measure figure it more like 30 cents per six-pack. Cost of joining is only a modest $5 per year, or about two six-packs, and you get a nifty pocket calendar with the dates of all the major sporting events.

Assuming they get a really good response, we figure the $5 covers about half the cost of the promotional mailing. We wonder who could be putting up the money for the rest of the cost? But if we join, what we really want is to get invited to one of those bars like they have in the beer commercials. You know the ones, where all the women are beautiful and available, all the men handsome, witty and brave, and no one ever, ever is drunk.

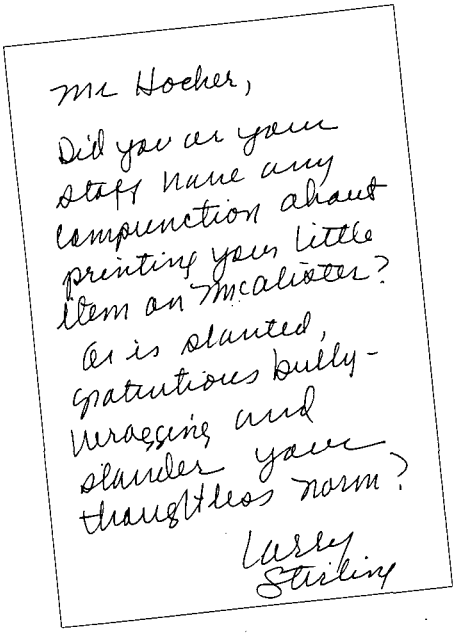
Judicial temperament department: Below is an item from last month's Up Front section, and a letter we received about it. Best read both in conjunction with the profile beginning on page 461 of this month's issue.

Get an independent view, we always say. State Senator Larry Stirling decided to do just that regarding the legality of Propositions 68 and 73 — the brace of campaign-reform initiatives passed by voters in November 1988. Stirling, a San Diego Republican, especially wanted to know if it was really illegal for lawmakers to raise money in years when they do not seek election, as the state courts had ruled.

Not as far as I'm concerned, said the unbiased, independent-minded attorney Stirling hired.

The attorney? Alister McAlister.

Never mind that McAlister served


Mr Hocker,

Did you or your staff have any compunction about printing your little item on McAlister? As is slanted, gratuitous bully-baiting and slander your thoughtless norm?

Larry Stirling

in the Assembly from 1970 to 1986. Never mind that McAlister may be reluctant to write legal opinions that hamstring his former colleagues' ability to raise money. Never mind that, as a lobbyist, McAlister relies on the good graces of legislators to get things done for his clients. After all, this is the man who ran for state controller in 1986 under the slogan "Honest McHonest."

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ROSTRUM

Staff

Concerning your article on legislative staff (see "Need staff? Form a committee," *CJ*, October 1989), you did not validate your facts before targeting Jerome Haleva as an example of a staff person who does limited work for the committee that pays his salary. In my capacity as state fire marshal, I have, for the past five years, worked closely with the Joint Committee on Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services generally, and with Mr. Haleva in particular in his capacity as committee staff. This joint committee has been instrumental in responding to the growing and ever-changing needs of the California fire service. I credit both Senator (William) Campbell and Jerome Haleva for their hard work and dedication in carrying out the committee's mission.

JAMES F. McMULLEN
Chief, California State Fire Marshal
Sacramento

Talk radio

I read with interest your article on talk radio (see "Attack of the radio talk-show hosts," *CJ*, September 1989). Generally, the theme of the article — that talk-show hosts are very powerful, very influential — is an open question. I've been a radio talk-show host for over 20 years, and I don't think we are as powerful as you argue. Once in a while, we see some evidence of our influence, but most often we see very little evidence of any "power."

The question of whether we are molders of opinion or reflectors of public feelings can be answered with the expression "50-50." Sometimes we do cause listeners to think and to rethink; sometimes we just broadcast what they are already thinking. And the thought that we might be organizing into some sort of super network is laughable. Most of my talk-show host friends scoff at that idea. Jerry Williams may have delusions of grandeur, but we don't.

Concerning some specific statements:

- That talk-show hosts make lots of money. I think I have a better idea of the pay scale for talk-show hosts than you. Some make very good money; many are paid a lot less than a disc-jockey.
- That talk-show hosts "on occasion" call one another to discuss mat-

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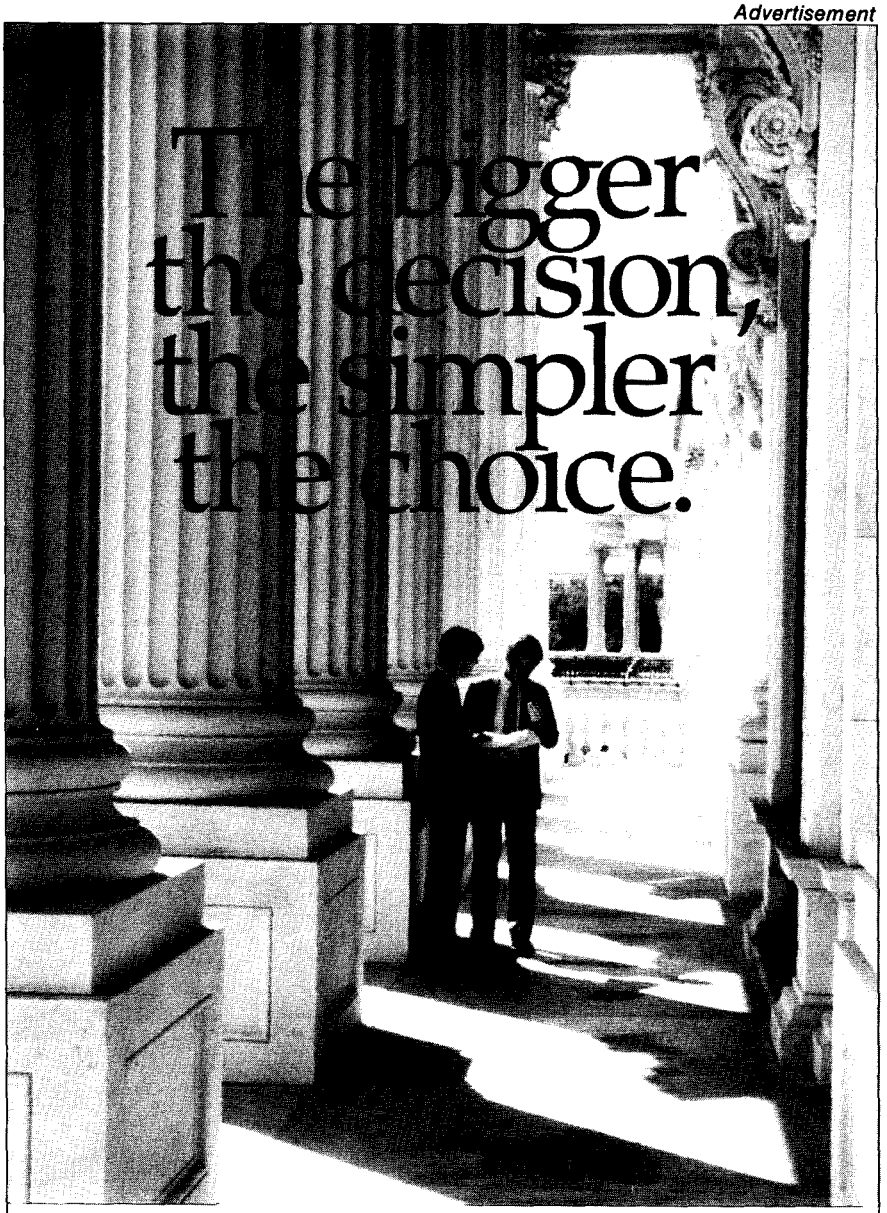

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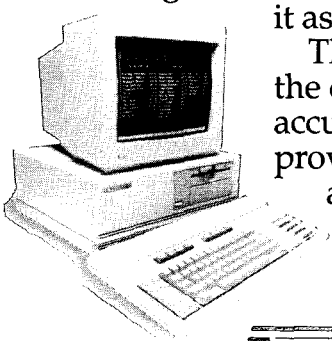

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ters of mutual concern. Most of us never do that. We seldom talk to other hosts, and when we do, it is most likely to be about something besides talk-show stuff.

• That we increasingly focus on sexual and/or sensational topics. Maybe our TV counterparts (Donohue, Oprah, Geraldo) do that, but as a rule, radio talk-show hosts talk about other matters.

• Capital Cities/ABC forbade any of their talk hosts from attending a meeting of talk hosts. Absolutely not true. It may be true that someone, somewhere, in the Cap Cities organization might have expressed concern; it might even be true that someone in New York forbade the New York talk hosts from attending. But no one in Cap Cities/ABC ever forbade any of us (in San Francisco) from attending.

JIM EASON
KGO Radio
San Francisco

Bronzan

Assemblymember Bruce Bronzan may deserve all the praise you heaped on him (see "Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan" *CJ*, October 1989), but his legislative record is not without a blemish or two. This session he proposed a bill, AB2161, which sought to support the improved use of and research on pesticides in food and agriculture. The bill is both bad economics and bad science. We all know that the most efficient way to come up with new methods for reducing the use of noxious pesticides is to put a tax on the source, in this case pesticide manufacturers and sellers. Bronzan's bill puts the onus on that most frail reed of all — a scientific committee whose members fundamentally disagree with each other: The committee, which, according to the bill, is to "determine" the feasibility of new analytic monitoring methods for pesticides, is to draw its members from a variety of different parties, ranging from the agricultural chemical industry to consumer interest groups. Since consensus from such a committee cannot be expected, we are left with the unpalatable prospect of delays in adopting new technologies or of science being made by split voting, say, 6 to 5 in favor of some polarized proposal. But this is a prospect we will have to live with, thanks to the assemblymember: The governor has signed the bill and it is now law. Some bill. Some legislator.

EMERY M. ROE
Oakland

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SPORTS MANIA

Cartoon by Paul Duginski

Cities spend and spend and spend to woo the pros

By A. G. Block

The ??? *(insert your city)* Raiders.

Roll that puppy off your tongue, Mister Mayor.

Steel-faced. Broad-shouldered. Bad. Real bad. A lump rises in your throat. Your pecs swell. You've got a strut in your step that wasn't there a month ago.

The ??? Raiders.

NFL reality, Madam Supervisor. Now. The big time. Guys who look like furniture vans and guys who run like the wind. Guys who loft long spirals into the Autumn afternoon and guys who dance through minefields: Bo Jackson and Marcus Allen and Joe Montana and Mike Singletary and Roger Craig and Mike Ditka and Deion Sanders and Barry Sanders and Dan Marino and Eric Dickerson and Cornelius Bennett and Randall Cunningham and John Elway and cheerleaders and Super Bowls and national TV zeroed in on silver-and-black banners that blast out the name: The ??? Raiders. The Goodyear Blimp hovering over your ward, your city, your district.

Lap it up, Mister Councilman. Break out the hibachis and the charcoal and the shish-kebab steaks. Slosh down the beer, slap down the burgers, parade your hand-shaking, baby-kissing selves around the parking lot and tailgate, tailgate, tailgate. Those are voters, out there; be one with them. Cheer for the Raiders, swear at the Bears. Boo the Broncos, boo the Oilers, boo the Rams, boo the Cowboys — the lousy, Texas-bred bum Cowboys — boo until the veins pop out in your neck and your voice narrows into a raspy silhouette. And dream. Dream about the glory.

Pro sports. Football, basketball, hockey, baseball. Gotta have it, gotta have it, gotta have it. Make your city big time.

Sports teams don't grow on trees, of course. Only the elite cities can have one; the brawny cities, the cities with muscle and clout and wealth and panache. Cities on the move, macho cities, cities of builders and dreamers and fighters and gamblers. Even for these cities, to grab a team is sometimes luck. Fate dances before them and is gone. And not just gone to seed and air, but gone to another city that brags and gloats and sees its name splashed around — a mocking echo of what might have been.

Can you afford to grab, Mister Mayor? Can you afford not to grab?

The Raiders.

Oh, to have the Raiders.

Why the Raiders?

Because the Raiders can be had. And because the Raiders can be had, the team isn't a team at all, but a dream come true. Some might say it's a nightmare — the object of a war between cities mad over sports. California, ever the cutting edge, is the current battleground. And the way things have escalated, the war itself is perhaps a glimpse

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of the way cities and pro sports teams will relate to each other forever.

The Raiders belong to the National Football League, like all pro sports leagues, a cartel. The owners who make up this cartel like to think of themselves as an exclusive club. To keep it that way, they limit the size of their league. In the old days, the leagues were small, the teams clustered in big cities of the East and Midwest. But today, even though every major sports league has tripled in size since 1960, enough other cities have gained in population and economic wealth and are clamoring after a team to improve their status, to be "major league."

Hence, a war over the Raiders. The team's destiny is controlled by Al Davis, a partner in the firm. Davis is not the first owner to move his team, nor the first owner to pit one city against another to sweeten the pot. But he is perhaps the first owner to wring enormous sums of money out of this urban mania for sports. As a result, his wheeling and dealing on behalf of the Raiders has raised franchise-dangling to an art form.

The Raiders now play in the vast semi-emptiness of the Los Angeles Coliseum. Early in this decade, they went to great lengths to move there from Oakland, blitzing the NFL and the city of Oakland in court (see "The lure of big league sports," *CJ*, August 1983). But Davis and the Los Angeles Coliseum Commission got into a ruckus in 1986 over construction of some luxury boxes, and this spat gave Davis so much angst that he began searching for someplace else to call home.

The result was altogether gratifying for Davis: Three California cities *and* the Los Angeles Coliseum threw money at him. Sacramento had a deal. The Los Angeles Coliseum still had a deal. Oakland — battered, once-dumped Oakland — had a deal. Even tiny Irwindale had a deal. These were deals to make a maharajah ache, deals to make every other team owner drool.

The Raiders have played musical cities before. The team romped around in Oakland from the early 1960s until 1981, when Davis and the Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum board squabbled over improvements to the stadium. Davis split for what he thought were greener pastures in Los Angeles. The National Football League didn't want Davis to move, and said so with a vote of his fellow owners. Davis sued the NFL and won the right to relocate. He also won a $33 million anti-trust judgment against the league.

Los Angeles turned out to be, well, not quite football Nirvana. While Oakland fans had been fanatic, Los Angeles fans were blase. Davis probably could have lived with blase had he not gotten into another squabble with the Los Angeles Coliseum Commission. According to a commission spokesman, Davis tried to build some luxury boxes without first submitting plans. The commission went to court to stop him, and Davis got miffed and started negotiating for a home elsewhere — at which point he was sued by the commission for breach of contract.

The place Davis negotiated with was Irwindale.

Irwindale, located in the San Gabriel Valley near the heart of Los Angeles County, was armed with a boat

Sports and land in Sacramento

In Sacramento, the deal put together to entice the Raiders north from Los Angeles is unique because private interests are willing to build a stadium for the team. Almost everywhere else in the country, stadiums are built with taxpayer money. In Sacramento, however, these same private interests have already built a 17,000-seat indoor arena for Sacramento.

But lest you think some virulent strain of civic altruism is loose in the state capital, there are big bucks to be made from construction of both the arena and stadium. And because of those big bucks, sports has been used as a kind of loss leader for land development in and around Sacramento. Sports is not an end in itself but a lever used to pry a land rezone out of the Sacramento City Council for the benefit of developers.

The Sacramento Sports Association (SSA) has four principal owners — Gregg Lukenbill, Joseph Benvenuti, Richard Anderson and Angelo Tsakapolous. All but Anderson are developers. Lukenbill and Benvenuti also have a large interest in a 10,000-acre parcel of land called North Natomas. All but about 1500 acres of North Natomas is inside the city of Sacramento, along its northern boundary.

When Lukenbill and Benvenuti bought into North Natomas in 1978, the land was zoned for agriculture. The city's master plan called for it to stay that way. In 1982 Sacramento adopted a growth policy calling for other areas of the city to be developed before North Natomas. But Lukenbill and Benvenuti were impatient and sought a rezone.

As an enticement, the two developers, along with other partners, bought a basketball team — the NBA's Kansas City Kings — and offered to move it to Sacramento. They also offered to build an arena for the team. Boiled down to the essentials, the developers used the basketball team as a lure to force a rezone. They promoted the promise of a pro basketball team for Sacramento, but only in an arena built on their land. And they would only build on their land if they got a rezone. They also made vague promises to build a stadium and seek a major league baseball team to fill it.

The promise of pro sports struck a municipal nerve.

Ultimately, the city and the developers fashioned a deal backed by guarantees from the developers that an arena and stadium would actually be built. According to city planners, once the arena was completed, 2500 acres of North Natomas would be rezoned. Once the stadium was half completed, another 6000 acres would be rezoned.

On paper, agricultural land in northern Sacramento is worth roughly $2500 an acre if used only for crops. Rezoned for office buildings, the land is worth about $8 to $12 a square foot — or roughly $500,000 an acre, according to Dave LaBella, a Sacramento-based real estate appraiser.

The Raiders were an afterthought; SSA developers were committed to building a stadium for *somebody* in order to free up 6000 acres for development. In fact, they had been committed to a baseball stadium; it only became a football stadium when the Raiders happened along. That the Raiders were also seeking a new home at precisely the same moment may turn out to be a happy coincidence for everyone, but especially for those whose land has skyrocketed in value from $15 million to $3 billion.

— *A.G. Block*

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load of redevelopment money (see "Cities with money, *CJ*, January 1988). It offered to advance Davis $125 million to build the Raiders a 65,000-seat stadium for the 1992 season. As a token of good faith, Irwindale gave the Raiders $10 million in non-refundable greenbacks. For their part, the Raiders signed a letter of intent back in 1987, affirming that if good ship Irwindale did all it said it would do — when it said it would do it — the Raiders would play there: football's version of "build it, and he shall come."

Unfortunately, good ship Irwindale struck a reef while tying up a few loose ends — like coming up with the money. A court order required the city to complete environmental studies before proceeding with the financing, and those studies were not ready according to the original timetable negotiated with the Raiders. The Raiders claimed that the delay voided the deal. To salve its disappointment, the team kept the $10 million.

Irwindale, undaunted, put together another package, said to be worth $195 million, and kept in the hunt.

Meanwhile, word was out: The Raiders could be had.

Enter, Oakland.

Oakland, snuggled along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay, still grieved for its beloved Raiders. If the Raiders were disillusioned in the Southland, bring 'em home. Never mind that Al Davis' disillusionment might run wallet deep. Never mind that Davis might play Oakland like a harp to wring a better deal out of some other locale. Never mind that to get the Raiders, the Oakland Coliseum might have to be altered. Never mind that those alterations might be bad for baseball and so honk off another long-time tenant — the Oakland Athletics.

Never mind all that stuff. Eat the peach. Go for the Raiders. Led by Alameda County Supervisor Don Perata, Oakland offered the Raiders a deal: $65 million or so to refurbish the Oakland Coliseum and build luxury boxes; a "franchise fee" of $32 million, as an inducement to let by-gones be by-gones; and another $22 million in guaranteed revenues from specific ticket sales and fees. The money would be financed from the sale of revenue bonds to be paid back by a tax on fans who attend events and games at the Coliseum. That's roughly $120 million (not counting interest and carrying costs for borrowing the money) from a city whose school district is in receivership and whose streets are patrolled by rival drug gangs.

Enter, Sacramento.

Growing, brassy, *nouveau-riche* Sacramento had a deal to end all deals. A private group known as the Sacramento Sports Association, owners of the pro basketball Kings, offered: a privately-built, 70,000-seat stadium costing in excess of $100 million; $90 million in guaranteed football revenue over five years, or every nickel from the sale of every ticket to every pro football game played in that stadium for five years (whether the tickets are sold or not); $105 million over 20 years from parking, club boxes and luxury suites, and from sales of caps, tee-shirts, pennants, hot dogs, nachos, beer, eskimo pies, decals and bobbing-head dolls; a share of revenue from track meets, rock concerts, tractor pulls, Wrestlemanias, Billy Graham Crusades, and any other event booked at the stadium; and 22.5 percent of the revenues from baseball games, should Sacramento land a baseball franchise.

Finally, Sacramento would also pay a "franchise fee" of $50 million to be fronted by the city and county through the sale of bonds — a cost to Sacramento taxpayers of roughly $100 million over 20 years.

Add up the cost to build the stadium, the mortgage on the stadium, the guaranteed ticket sales, the guaranteed beer and bobbing-head-doll sales, the franchise fee and the interest on the franchise fee, and all the other incidental costs — and the community of Sacramento was willing to spend nearly half a billion dollars to lure a football team. Half-a-billion smackeroos. Not to own the team but to rent it for 20 years.

Sacramento's deal seems, uh, excessive on the face of it. But inside the financial world of pro sports, it seems cosmic. Consider that in 1988 the entire Raiders team — lock, stock and ball racks — was valued at between $90 million and $100 million, according to a study compiled by the investment firm of Morgan Stanley and published in *The Sporting News*.

Consider, too, that earlier this year the Dallas Cowboys were sold to zillionaire Jerry Jones for $140 million. Sold to him. *Sold ... to ... him*, as in "to own, to control." And although $140 million is a lot of dough, Jones got more for his money than a team; he also got Texas Stadium in Irving and a training facility. Value the stadium at the same $100 million Sacramento plans to spend on its facility, and the Cowboy *team* was bought for *less* than the "franchise fee" being offered the Raiders, never mind the training facility.

Gotta have it, gotta have it, gotta have it.

Why?

Because it is sports, and Californians — along with the rest of the country — have gone sports mad. How sports mad? On Tuesday, October 10th, three massive headlines sprawled across the *San Francisco Chronicle's* front page: "Bay Area World Series. GIANTS WIN PENNANT. Clark's Amazing Hit Beats Cubs, 3-2." Smooshed into the right-hand column of that front page was a far smaller headline: "UCSF Scientists Win Nobel in Medicine."

Cities, too, seem sports mad. Sports put cities in front of the national eye. Sports mean status, a chance for folks to wag their fingers and chant, "We're Number One." Folks like status, especially in a city like Sacramento which has long existed in the shadows cast by San Francisco and Oakland. The public clamor for the Raiders in Sacramento bordered on frenzy when the potential deal was first announced. The Sacramento Kings, who have labored through four increasingly mediocre basketball seasons, nonetheless sell out every home game.

Politicians pay attention to that kind of mania.

"I don't think there is a member of the board of supervisors or city council who would be willing to say no," admitted Sacramento City Councilman Joe Serna Jr., referring to a city-funded franchise fee for the Raiders. "I don't think there is a politician in town who could survive opposing this."

Although Serna later tried to tone down the statement, he voted for the fee — as did the mayor and every other member of the Sacramento City Council and Sacramento County Board of Supervisors.

Sacramento is typical of cities throughout the Sunbelt that suddenly find themselves flexing economic muscle. They are ideally situated to capitalize on the growing interurban competition for sports teams. The state capital is thriving, its economy expanding rapidly, and that kind of growth attracts and generates money. Sacramento is also surrounded by a vast amount of empty land for development. It is also close to an established metropolitan area where growth is stifled by a lack of available land. Development booms provide cities with a wealth of options and innovative financing for building stadiums, roads, hotels and other amenities which help attract pro sports teams (see box, page 440).

And like people who find themselves suddenly rich, newly-prosper-

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ous cities often throw their money after new and higher-priced toys. In late 20th Century America, for better or worse, pro sports is the premium toy.

On the other hand, more established metropolitan areas are often hard-pressed to compete. Their sports facilities — built during development booms decades ago — are aging and either require replacement or costly renovation. San Francisco, for example, has tried unsuccessfully for years to replace Candlestick Park because its primary tenant — baseball's San Francisco Giants — wants a new ballyard and has threatened repeatedly to move elsewhere if it doesn't get it. Since there is no patch of undeveloped land in San Francisco big enough to accommodate a new ballpark and its attendant parking lots, the city must tear down something, somewhere. All this is costly, and early this month voters were asked whether they wanted to pay the tab. Two weeks prior to the election, polls indicated a 50-50 split even though Mayor Art Agnos was heavily behind the proposal and baseball mania had seized the entire Bay Area as a result of both the Giants and the Oakland Athletics appearing in the 1989 World Series.

But the mania for sports is best displayed by one piece of the various offers to the Raiders. Because of it, pro sports may never be the same — the "franchise fee."

Franchise fee.

Roll that one around on your tongue.

"Franchise fee" is a sugary way to say "bribe." A multi-million payment to the Raiders — on top of everything else — is a bribe. Cities have dangled inducements before: new stadiums, improvements to existing stadiums, concession revenue, training facilities, parking lots. But according to league officials, no one has ever paid a flatcar full of cash — plus other inducements — to get a team's attention.

At least when cities used stadiums and other amenities to bid for teams, there seemed to be some kind of ceiling to the bids, not to mention some tangibles in return for the expense — stadiums, roads, luxury boxes. A percentage of the gate at least forced a team to share the risks associated with attendance. But a franchise fee paid in cash, once paid, is gone. And it has no ceiling; cities can keep upping the ante until one city is forced to fold its hand.

This franchise fee is Pandora's Box. It is the pro team's free agency. As teams play out current stadium leases, they may put themselves on the market to the highest bidder; not just a city with the best stadium, but one willing to come up with the gaudiest package — topped by the biggest franchise fee. And with a limited number of teams to go around, it will be a seller's market. Never mind civic loyalty. Never mind tradition. Never mind league rules that are supposed to prevent musical cities among the teams. Al Davis and his Raiders showed everybody how to stuff league rules when they moved out of Oakland in 1982. Money, big money, franchise-fee money, distracts the mind. $50 million buys a lot of loyalty. And this is only the first franchise fee.

Pandora's Box is already ajar; in the midst of the Raider bidding war, football's Tampa Bay Buccaneers were reportedly interested in coming to Sacramento should the Raiders go elsewhere. The Sacramento Sports Association has admitted that other teams call often, inquiring.

And, why not? California cities seem like giddy tycoons willing to throw money around. One of them will eventually get the Raiders. But Sacramento, Oakland, Irwindale and Los Angeles are part of a community of cities, and there are consequences down the road for everyone if members of that community act less than responsibly. Just as free agency jacked baseball salaries to preposterous levels, so, too, will franchise fees change the relationship between cities and teams.

And, to what ultimate effect? To plant in the mind of nearly every owner that cities hungry for pro sports can be had for plenty. Rich cities, poor cities, it doesn't matter. There is a lust for toys afoot. The franchise fee will be part of every stadium lease negotiation from this day forward.

Of course, there are benefits to having pro teams.

A study, prepared by Economic Research Associates of Chicago, shows that $1.3 billion worth of spending will take place in Sacramento over the 20-year Raider lease. Other experts disagree about the benefits of sports teams, arguing that little new revenue is being generated, few jobs created and revenue reflects money that would be spent in the community anyway. The troubling part of this is not that cities came up with the money but that they seemed to have the collective will to work quickly to grab a sports franchise while dawdling over other civic improvements.

It took Sacramento city government less than a month to come up with a way to raise a $50 million franchise fee, and to pay for it without submitting the notion to a vote of the people. It should not be lost on anyone that the Sacramento City Council voted on the Raiders' proposal the very week that Sacramento teachers went on strike after not having had a pay hike for two years.

Roll that off your tongue.

Better yet, don't. Just repeat: Raiders, Raiders, Raiders.

Gotta have it, gotta have it, gotta have it.

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Don't look now — *Election 1990*

By Mark Simon

A year just isn't what it used to be. Particularly an off-year.

One candidate for governor already has cleared the field of all would-be opponents. Another has launched his campaign and three other initiative campaigns in concert with his gubernatorial effort. A third candidate for governor has had a very public falling-out with her campaign manager, prompting speculation that it may be too late already for her to get back into the race.

And the election is still a year away.

But this has been an uncommon year. There is the uncertainty about fund raising and campaign organization engendered by the new restrictions of Proposition 73 — the campaign fund-raising limitations law approved by voters in 1988. There is the brave new world of insurance reform and a campaign for the brave new post of state insurance commissioner. Finally, the governor's race is wide open, with the current incumbent — Republican George Deukmejian — having decided not to seek a third term.

All this has been taking place against a backdrop of reapportionment — functional equivalent of the law of the jungle — which figures into the governor's race, at least one of the initiatives and all of the legislative races that may be affected by a big win at the top of the ticket.

In short, with the 1990 general election a year away, we're facing an odd and extraordinary campaign year that may be just a prelude to a 1992 bonanza of two U.S. Senate seats and a presidential election.

But before that election arrives, there is the matter of 1990, the race for governor and a June election marked by an unusual number of contested party primaries, particularly

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among Republicans, who so often strive for a show of unanimity.

"They'll be like bookends — the governor's race and the insurance commissioner battle," said Otto Bos, top strategist for U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, the all-but-assured GOP nominee for governor.

The Republican fixation with the notion that an absence of dissonance leads to victory was the prime motivation in the efforts of GOP leadership to clear the decks for Wilson in the Republican gubernatorial primary. Facing no challenge, Wilson has used the past several months to sponsor his own anti-crime initiative, slated for the June primary ballot, and to raise money in excess of the huge amounts he raised for his re election campaign for the Senate in 1988.

Bos guessed that the Wilson campaign will have about $5 million in the bank by the end of the 1989, "slightly ahead" of the Senate campaign at the same time. In the Senate race, Wilson spent in excess of $16 million for the entire campaign, Bos said.

Bos, also heading up the campaign for the Wilson-backed "Crime Victims Justice Reform Act" initiative, said intiative backers turned in more than 900,000 signatures in early October, making it the second-fastest initiative to qualify in the state's history.

The initiative is a vehicle to focus on the issue of crime — an issue where Wilson campaign strategists think they can exploit a weakness in the record of current Democratic front-runner, Attorney General John Van de Kamp.

Van de Kamp not only refused to support the Wilson initiative, he issued his own legal opinion that its wording was flawed and threatened the guarantees in California of a woman's right to an aborion.

"Not only was his move an exercise in outright cynicism," Bos said of the Van de Kamp attack, "but I think it raises serious questions about the use of his office for the most naked political reasons you can imagine."

Van de Kamp suggested Wilson rewrite the initiative and file it for the November ballot. Wilson is pushing ahead for June without changing a word.

Bos said the law enforcement community is furious with Van de Kamp. "He ducked the Crime Victims Initiative. He played cute on Rose Bird. He opposes the death penalty, but says he can't support our Crime Victims initiative. And suddenly he discovers abortion as an issue in a year when abortion moves center state," Bos said.

Wilson

Van de Kamp

Feinstein

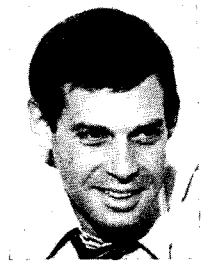
Wilson's efforts on behalf of an anti-crime initiative are neither cynical nor manipulative, Bos said. In fact, Bos said, the initiative campaign will be a real "low-budget affair" and that "there is no inclination to feature Wilson in a prominent role in a media program" on behalf of the initiative.

What Wilson wants to focus on, Bos said, is a "platform about how you would lead the state into the 1990s. ... My sense is that quality of life issues will dominate the political landscape — environmental protection, criminal justice reform, health care reform, education."

But it is the traditonal manner in which issues are addressed — through campaign promises laced with charges and counter-charges — that is behind the Van de Kamp initiatives, a high-risk strategy to tie him tightly to some key positions on some important issues.

Van de Kamp, in association with a variety of other nonpartisan organizations, has sponsored three initiatives so far — one addressing ethical issues in government and campaigns, including limiting the number of years constitutional and legislative officeholders can serve; one on the environment, which addresses a smorgasbord of pollution, oil drilling and toxics issues; and one on crime, which contains many of Wilson's provisions (excluding the language that purportedly would affect abortion) and also raises corporate taxes to finance a war on drugs.

"On the four major issues of the day — combating crack cocaine, a woman's right to choose, the environment and ethics, we have put ourselves in a position where there is a genuine disagreement between the major candidates," said Richard Ross, Van de Kamp's top campaign adviser.



Collis

Zelman

Gillespie

Wilson clearly would dispute that interpretation; he has argued for years that he has a solid environmental record and contends he is pro-choice. But Ross said the initiatives move the campaign beyond the usual promises and counter-promises.

"Past campaigns have all been debates on the future, using proof from the past. 'I'll do this because I did that.' That's been the fundamental structure of the political debate. It is not a debate Democrats have been able to win," Ross said. "John Van de Kamp decided he wanted to do things differently and engage in a debate in the present tense. 'You don't have to trust me. Watch me today. I'm doing it in front of you.' ... These disagreements [between Wilson and Van de Kamp on the initiatives] the voters will have to resolve for themselves. These are not static, intellectual disagreements."

Van de Kamp will not be featured prominently in any of the initiative campaigns, Ross said, adding that their value to Van de Kamp is in how they frame the issues. Ross expected all three initiatives to be ready for circulation in November 1989, and a big grass-roots level push for signatures is planned for the Thanksgiving weekend, focusing on the Bay Area.

To qualify the initiatives, Ross has put together, with grass-roots expert Larry Tramutola, a statewide organization of volunteers. Ross estimated the Van de Kamp campaign will have raised between $4.5 million and $5 million and finish the year with about $4 million on hand.

For both Van de Kamp and Wilson, the initiative efforts are complicated considerably by new campaign and fundraising laws and an assertion by the leadership of the Fair Political Practices Commission that they will observe much more closely for violations of regulations prohibiting the expenditure of initiative campaign money that can be seen as promoting a candidacy. But obviously, at a minimum, Wilson and Van de Kamp hope to gain political mileage — credibili-

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ty, an upper hand on a key issue, a clear link to an important issue — publicity.

Resolving the legal conflicts between a campaign and an initiative effort has not been Dianne Feinstein's problem.

The former San Francisco mayor has had enough problems getting her campaign organized. In August, Clint Reilly, a San Francisco political consultant who had been associated with Feinstein for some years, abruptly quit the campaign, charging in his own pre-emptive press release that he was unable to get the former mayor to commit to a time schedule, campaign plan and fund-raising budget that would make it possible for her to win.

Feinstein responded immediately that she was in the race to stay, and she subsequently took an apartment in Los Angeles to allow a more intensive schedule of campaigning there. Campaign aides dismiss the allegations that her campaign is adrift as insider's gossip that has no real bearing on voters.

"This is clearly, at worst, a false start," said campaign coordinator Darry Sragow.

By this time, Sragow said the Feinstein campaign should have hired a new consultant to replace Reilly, choosing from among a number of nationally known people out of Washington, D.C., and the Los Angeles firm of Berman and D'Agostino.

Buchanan

Hayes

Brown

It will take until the end of the year to get the campaign fully up to organizational strength, he said.

Those strengths that made Feinstein an appealing candidate — personal presence, a solid record of management in San Francisco, a moderate political philosophy, a reputation for being tough on the crime issue — continue to exist as campaign plusses, Sragow said. "The fundamental thing to remember is that everything that has gone on to date is irrelevant to 99.9 percent of the electorate," he added.

Sragow said it is impossible to project what the campaign might have raised by the end of the year, but he remained optimistic that fund raising will go well, based on the relative success of the campaign's efforts at a time when no organized fund-raising operation was in place. He also acknowledged the considerable resources of Feinstein and her husband, Richard Blum, who are said to be capable to putting into the campaign in excess of $1 million in personal funds.

"I have no idea what the Feinstein-Blum family has [in personal resources]. All I can tell you is that Dianne Feinstein and Dick Blum are totally committed to the race," Sragow said.

And while they work to organize the campaign, they are reassured by the Van de Kamp initiative strategy, Sragow said. He said that strategy will prove costly, cumbersome, unsuccessful and is fraught with a host of legal pitfalls. Sragow said voters will see the Van de Kamp initiatives as an obvious attempt to manipulate the elective system.

"It's a slap in the face of voters. Voters are not that easily misled," Sragow said. "What they've done is take John Van de Kamp into territory that he has refused to enter throughout his entire public career."

If you're looking for uncharted territory, there is none more unexplored than the new office of insurance commissioner.

On the Republican side, there is no clear and openly expressed candidate. The current commissioner, Roxani Gillespie, appointed when the post was a low-profile job, has formed an exploratory committee. But she has made no other

McCarthy

Bergeson

Seymour

pronouncements about running, and has yet to decide, according to a spokeswoman.

Meanwhile, she continues to be sharply criticized for her implementation, or lack thereof, of Proposition 103, and has been reported widely as seeming to reverse herself on several occasions — taking once a pro-insurance industry position, and then a pro-consumer position.

Republican state Senator John Doolittle of Roseville also has expressed some interest in running for the job but has done little more than express. Meanwhile, there is the expectation that the insurance industry, which has much at stake in the interpretations of the rate rollback and pricing policy provisions of 103, will offer up its own candidate, someone who has yet to emerge.

On the Democratic side, three potential candidates are trying to pose as the consumer's greatest buddy.

Conway Collis, in his second term on the Board of Equalization, has been the most aggressive and most public in advocating the toughest anti-industry intepretation of 103. Those efforts have earned him the endorsement of Harvey Rosenfield, the principal sponsor of 103 in 1988.

Los Angeles television and radio commentator Bill Press said he will decide if has the resources to run by the end of the year. He said that through three prominent statewide initiative campaigns he brings a past record of fighting "big water, big development, big oil. I'm ready for big insurance."

According to a spokesman for Walter Zelman, the chairman of California Common Cause for 12 years, his work with that non-partisan, self-styled citizen's lobby has put him in the thick of every major consumer issue for the past decade, including an aggressive effort to resolve the insurance issue well before Proposition 103 was conceived.

All three candidates see the office of insurance commissioner as an opportunity to get involved in issues that extend well beyond auto insurance — from health care to insurance for day care centers.

In the race for lieutenant governor, incumbent Democrat Leo McCarthy is seeking to become the state's first three-termer. He faces no challenge in the primary, but there are questions about whether he was badly hurt by his 10-point defeat to Pete Wilson in the 1988 race for the U.S. Senate. McCarthy had contemplated running for governor, but rejected it as too expensive.

On the Republican side, two moderate Republicans are running against each other for no clear-cut reason. State Senators John Seymour of Anaheim and Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach are fighting it out for the solidly Republican vote from Orange County south. Officials from each cam-

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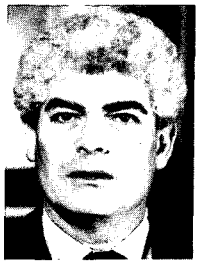
paign estimate a primary race that will cost from $1 millin to $1.5 million.

The two differ mainly over who would best enhance the ticket. Ronald Smith, Bergeson's campaign manager, said her campaign already has purchased $100,000 in television ad-



Reiner

Press

Lungren

vertising for the Spring. That kind of aggressive campaigning will make her a stronger addition to the ticket, he said.

Seymour has a proven background of developing statewide political networks, through his work for Wilson as a campaign chairman in 1988, his past position as president of the California Association of Realtors and his prominent role in George Bush's 1988 state campaign, according to Eileen Padberg, Seymour's political consultant.

Secretary of State March Fong Eu apparently intends to seek a sixth term in office, although she faces a potential Democratic primary challenge for the first time in years. The would-be challenger is Tom Houston, one-time head of the state Fair Political Practices Commission. He has formed an exploratory committee. But Eu has proved the most durable statewide political figure in the last two decades, winning re-election by huge margins.

One Republican has filed to run for the post — Gordon Levy, a deputy district attorney in Los Angeles and member of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee.

Nowhere is the matter of customary Republican unity in more disarray than in the race for state treasurer, where appointed incumbent Tom Hayes is being challenged by former U.S. Treasurer Angela Bay Buchanan. Hayes was named to the post by Governor Deukmejian after Deukmejian's unsuccessful efforts to win the appointment for Long Beach Congressman Dan Lungren. To protect his appointment, the governor has endorsed Hayes for reelection, and much of the Deukmejian campaign and fund-raising apparatus is arrayed behind the incumbent. By the end of the year, Hayes campaign officials hope to have raised somewhere between $500,000 and $700,000, said campaign manager Brian Lungren. And they will raise "several million dollars" for the primary election, if necessary, Lungren said.

Hayes officials already are using the office as much as possible. Hayes deputy B.T. Collins loves to point out that by next November, Hayes will have made $2 billion for the people of the state in investment and asset management.

But Hayes' biggest problem in the primary may be the fact that he became a registered Republican only shortly before his appointment by the governor. Buchanan's main argument against Hayes is that she is the kind of credentialed, conservative Republican activist who can consolidate the GOP vote.

"It's not that he isn't conservative enough. It's that she doesn't think he gives Republicans a reason to get out to vote. He's never done anything for the party," said Buchanan press secretary Elizabeth Maas.

Buchanan is the sister of nationally known conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, and her conservative connections will help her raise money. Maas said the campaign expects to spend $1.5 million, some of which will be raised at events featuring conservative superstars such as former Secretary of State Alexander Haig and U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah.

Maas said a showdown between Pat Buchanan's sister and unopposed Democratic candidate Kathleen Brown, the sister of state Democratic chairman Jerry Brown, is the kind of confrontation that can attract voters to the otherwise low-key office of treasurer.

"In order to win in California, you can't just win on Republican votes and you can't just run on your brother's name," said Collins.

Kathleen Brown is planning to raise between $3 million and $5 million, even without a primary, in anticipation of running against Hayes or Buchanan, according to campaign manager Beverly Thomas. Either would be a tough candidate, Thomas said.

Van de Kamp's decision to run for governor opened up the office of attorney general. Republican Dan Lungren, fresh from his unsuccessful attempt to win confirmation as treasurer, now is running for an office he says is more suited to his record in Congress. Lungren said he devoted a fair amount of

Eu

Davis

Honig

his time in Congress working on criminal justice reform. But before he begins addressing those matters, Lungren is enjoying the luxury of a Democratic primary campaign that already has become quite heated.

San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith already has made one foray into Los Angeles to directly attack the record of front-runner Ira Reiner, the Los Angeles district attorney. But a recent drug bust illustrated the uphill battle facing a San Franciscan running against a Los Angeleno.

The bust was huge — billions of dollars worth of cocaine seized in a warehouse. That evening, on network television and on local television news shows throughout the state, Reiner stood with law-enforcement officials and made his share of comments about the seizure and the drug problem facing the state.

In two other races, two incumbent Democrats appear on their way to re-election without prominent opposition. Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig announced his plans to seek a third term for his non-partisan office, even though he had re-registered as a Democrat and spurred speculation he might run for governor. But when Proposition 98, which restructured the funding of state public schools, was approved, Honig said he felt it his duty to stay in office and implement it.

State Controller Gray Davis has been toying with the idea of running for governor. Although he has never officially declared his plans, Davis has all but closed down his gubernatorial campaign. "He's got one foot in the controller's race and maybe one toe in the governor's race," said one Los Angeles Democrat.

Even with indecision as a backdrop, no prominent candidate has emerged to oppose Davis, should he seek re-election.

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Tom Bradley's slide from Teflon to Velcro

By John Schwada

Mayor Tom Bradley's quarter-century-long political life in Los Angeles has been virtually free of ethical crises and humiliations. Indeed, the mayor's unquestioned integrity made him so popular that he even managed to avoid blame for the city's myriad problems.

But 1989 found Bradley admitting to "errors in judgement" as the media and prosecutorial authorities — now including a federal grand jury — swarmed over his record. After being at the center of so much controversy, the man once dubbed the "Teflon mayor" has begun to look more like the Velcro mayor.

From this intense scrutiny has emerged an unflattering portrait of Bradley, who twice ran for governor. The 71-year-old mayor's private investments, it has been revealed, often are entangled with those of ultra-wealthy businessmen and stock brokers — some of dubious ethics — and perhaps a few charlatans; he carelessly took jobs with two financial institutions as they did business with the city; and the mayor appears, at least at times, to have granted special favors at City Hall to his menagerie of political-business pals.

The seemingly incessant disclosures have turned the Bradley years topsy-turvy. They have badly tarnished the mayor's image as a sober-sided, upright municipal chief executive and taken a heavy toll on Bradley's ability to lead the nation's second largest city.

Scarcely a new initiative has issued from the mayor's office since the Bradley ethics controversy, as it has come to be known, began. The Los Angeles City Council, long held in thrall by Bradley, has become more independent. In a recent sign of its new sense of freedom, the council moved to take a

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stronger hand in running the city's redevelopment agency, a Bradley pet. Bradley's ties with the City Hall press corps also have been mangled. After finishing his prepared remarks at a recent press briefing, Bradley opened the session to reporters' questions by quipping: "Now, smart alecks, ask some questions." The remark was played for laughs, but it was emblematic of the changed relationship. Deputy Mayor Mike Gage has publicly accused the news media, especially the *Los Angeles Times*, of ignoring the Bradley administration's efforts to deal with routine municipal affairs in its focus on the ethics controversy.

Bradley's season of troubles begam amid *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* disclosures about an $18,000-a-year consulting job the mayor had in 1988 with Far East National Bank — an institution that had had a sweetheart land-lease deal with the city for several years and regularly got deposits of idle city funds from the city treasurer's office. The *Herald Examiner* stories were quickly followed by the start-up of a criminal, conflict-of-interest probe by Los Angeles City Attorney James Hahn.

The controversy, breaking open in late March, nearly stalled Bradley's reelection bid. After a battering, three-week dose of negative publicity, the mayor won a fifth term but scored only 51.9 percent of the vote. It was Bradley's poorest electoral showing as a mayoral incumbent. His weak performance at the polls was further underscored by the fact that his two major challengers — Councilman Nate Holden, a former state senator, and Baxter Ward, a former county supervisor — were running on a shoe-string and a prayer. The pair entered the race only after Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky, the Westside lawmaker who looked to be Bradley's most formidable challenger, bowed out in early January.

On September 13th, after six-months of looking, Hahn, son of Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, wrapped up his Far East-Bradley investigation on an ambiguous note. The city attorney found "insufficient evidence" existed to support an influence-peddling charge against Bradley. But the city attorney also packed his 1600-page report with some tough, headline-grabbing rhetorical flourishes. Among these were conclusions that the evidence against Bradley was "undeniably troubling" and that the mayor had shown an "indifference to ethical concerns."

Hahn also filed a six-count civil lawsuit that accused Bradley of violating the state Political Reform Act by failing to report on his financial disclosure statements at least $231,000 of his private investments, including two $100,000 stock-market trades Bradley made in 1988.

After Hahn's findings were released, Bradley tried to rebound in a 40-minute, live TV address in which he claimed the city attorney's inquiry had vindicated him. The bottom-line, Bradley insisted, was that "I did not violate the public's trust" and that "as far as I am concerned, this matter is now behind us."

But the public has been wary and skeptical. A Teichner Associates poll, commissioned by the *Herald Examiner*, found 64 percent of the voters did not believe Bradley's claim that Hahn's report had cleared him of wrong-doing; another 69 percent felt the mayor used his office at least as much as, if not more than, other mayors to help friends and business associates. A *Times poll, also conducted after Hahn's report* was issued, found nearly half of its respondents believed Bradley had lied about his financial affairs and that 45 percent believed he was guilty of conflicts of interest.

Nor are the mayor's legal problems over. Guided by U.S. Justice Department attorneys, a federal grand jury in Los Angeles has subpoenaed the mayor's tax records and documents pertaining to or possessed by several of his political

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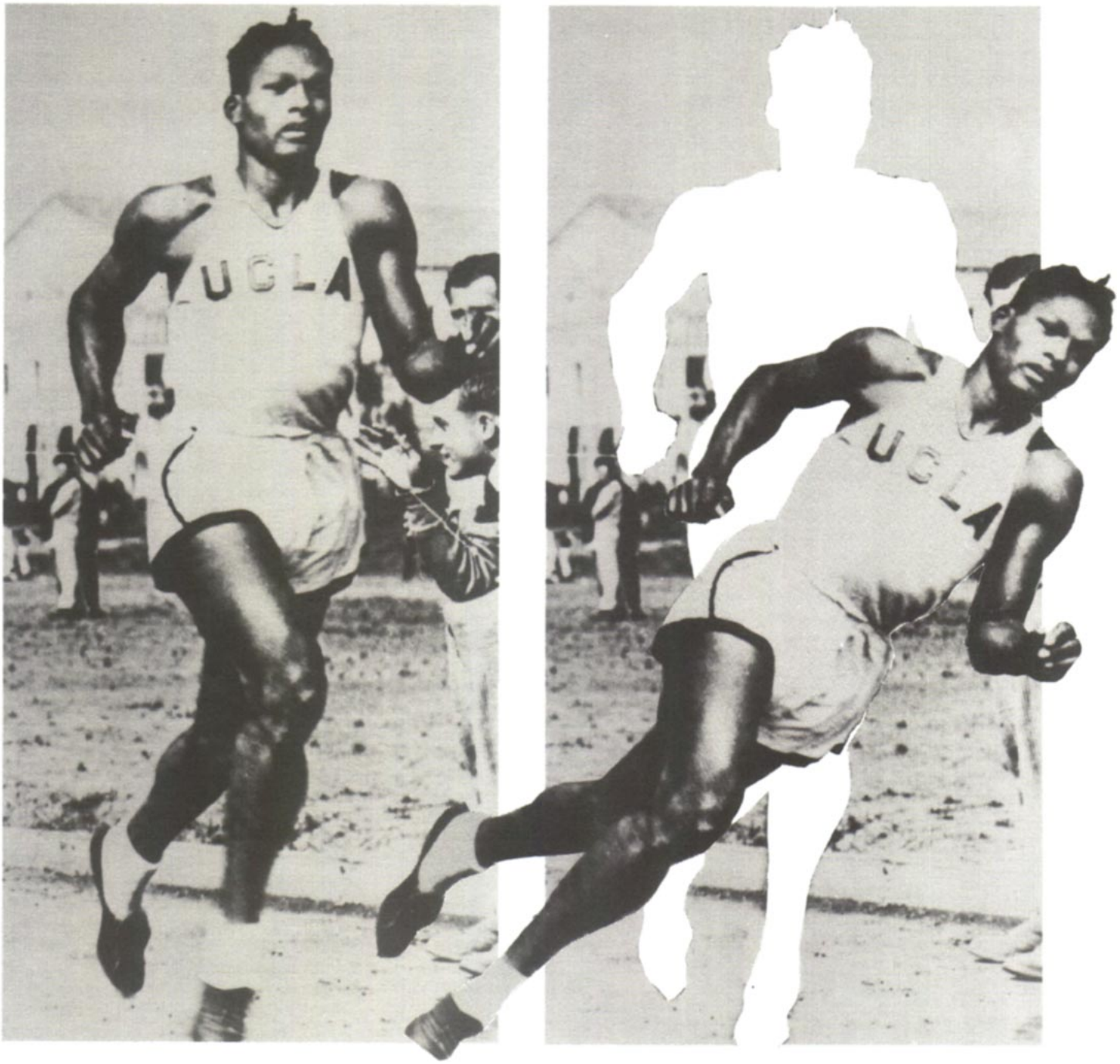

and business associates. The federal investigation started amid reports that a half-dozen of Bradley's stock market trades were handled by Drexel Burnham Lambert, and that some trades involved take-over deals financed by the brokerage house which is itself embroiled in the nation's largest-ever insider-trading scandal. Underlying the federal inquiry, it was reported early on, were questions of whether Bradley got insider tips himself and used his office to scratch Drexel's back.

But by late September, when word of the grand jury subpoenas got out, it was apparent the feds had broadened their inquiry to include a look at all of Bradley's stock market and brokerage house dealings. Among the disclosures in this connection have been that Bradley petitioned the federal Securities and Exchange Commission to drop its demand that Drexel shut down its junk-bond office in Beverly Hills, once the fiefdom of Michael Milken — Drexel's former whiz kid who now faces a 98-count federal indictment. Closure of the office was sought as part of the SEC's proposed settlement of its insider-trading case against Drexel. It has also been revealed that the mayor nearly doubled his money in two high-flying stocks — each of which he owned for only one day.

The scope of the subpoenas indicate as well that the feds may not be completely satisfied that Hahn's report is the last word about Bradley's ties to Far East Bank. The subpoena served on the city treasurer's office, for example, showed that the first item sought was all records about Far East.

Headlines about grand jury probes also have reportedly cramped Bradley's efforts to raise money to pay the legal bills he has incurred because of the multiple investigations. In early August, Bradley — some felt indiscreetly — convened a summit meeting at Getty House, the taxpayer-owned official mayor's residence, with three dozen of his top political sup-

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porters to focus them on the need to raise at least $250,000 to pay his three sets of attorneys. This pitch to help a troubled, lame-duck mayor (Bradley's days at City Hall clearly won't extend beyond the expiration of his current term in 1993) never produced a gusher of excitment or cash. But when reports of the growing federal probe hit the newstands in September, the Bradley camp's appeal for dough took a beating. To some observers it also was a testimonial to Bradley's loss of stature that his own accountant and several of his business and political allies owned up to reporters that they had gotten grand jury subpoenas. This would not have happened if the mayor were politically strong, it was believed.

Another financial headache looms for Bradley in Hahn's civil lawsuit. In this case Hahn will seek monetary penalties, the amount of which has not yet been specified. History relates that the fines levied against similarly-situated California politicians have never exceeded $15,000. But conventional wisdom has it that Hahn, in a face-saving move, is likely to go for much bigger bucks to quiet criticism of his decision not to file criminal charges against Bradley. If he does, that could put further strains on the Bradley camp.

The most dramatic chapters in the still-unfolding Bradley scandal have focused on the following disclosures:

• That Bradley held an $18,000-a-year job as an "adviser" to Far East National Bank and intervened with city officials as the highly profitable Chinatown institution sought deposits of city funds.

During 1988 Bradley twice alerted city officials about Far East's quest to obtain deposits of city funds. But it was a March 22, 1989, Bradley phone call to city treasurer Leonard Rittenberg that proved most explosive. Moments after this call, Rittenberg reversed a prior decision of his subordinates and ordered $2 million placed at Far East.

City treasury officials, it was also later revealed, falsified a bid sheet to make it appear as if Far East won the $2 million deposit via a competitive bid process (such a process was required by city policy) and then clumsily tried to erase a handwritten reference to Bradley — saying "per the mayor" — on the same document. These disclosures hit City Hall like a bombshell in late July. Before the dust had scarcely settled, Bradley asked for a review to determine if Rittenberg, his appointee, should be disciplined. That review still hangs over Rittenberg as the treasurer stoutly continues to maintain that Bradley's March 22nd phone conversation with him about Far East was innocent. Under city law, Bradley has the sole authority to initiate disciplinary proceeding against Rittenberg.

Bradley in March returned the $18,000 in fees he got from Far East and has denied he tried to influence Rittenberg and another city official, redevelopment agency chief John Tuite, to deposit funds with his employer. In a separate matter, the mayor also resigned as a member of the board of directors of Valley Federal Savings and Loan Association, a post that had provided him with at least $71,800 in fee income.

• That one of Bradley's financial gurus has been Columbia Savings and Loan Association founder Abraham Spiegel, a rich and powerful leader of Los Angeles' Jewish community and a high-rolling investor. It has been Bradley's bad luck that Columbia's top executives also are now under federal investigation; they are suspected of assisting Drexel with its insider-trading schemes.

The odors emanating from the Columbia-Drexel connection inevitably have made Bradley's ties to Spiegel a subject of suspicion. Under the elder Spiegel's auspices, Bradley has at times found his private financial affairs moving on an exclusive track. The mayor, for example, was allowed to invest in a $99.5 million junk-bond deal involving Gibraltar Savings and Loan Association's parent company. Bradley put $100,000 into the deal, which was fashioned by Drexel and included only 21 other investors — nine of them Spiegel- and Columbia-related. Records show Bradley was arranging to sell the Gibraltar bonds, which were money-losers, one day before bad news hit that sent the securities plunging in value again. In 1986 Bradley also tapped Spiegel's thrift for a $50,000 loan to refinance a Riverside County land venture in which the mayor was a partner. A former top Columbia executive told reporters the loan was a rarity — because it was secured by raw land — and was the only one of its kind that he could recall making.

Questions about the Bradley-Spiegel ties have been fueled, too, by reports that the mayor's office took a keen interest in Spiegel's efforts to free two of his development projects from the limits of a slow-growth measure and intervened to seek a speed-up of City Hall processing for another Spiegel project.

Bradley and Spiegel have co-invested in other junk-bond deals, including ones involving BCI Holdings, it has been revealed. When former Democratic whip Tony Coelho resigned his congressional seat last summer amid controversy about his buying BCI bonds through Tom Spiegel, Abraham Spiegel's son, the repurcussions hit Bradley, too. (Coelho failed to report both that he borrowed money from Columbia to make the BCI purchase and got the bond at a discount). Coelho's abrupt resignation only heightened suspicions about what kind of deal-making might undergird Bradley's financial coziness with Spiegel.

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• That Bradley has been been a major patron of Juanita St. John, who runs a dubious-looking non-profit agency called the Task Force for Africa/Los Angeles Relations. Bradley, it has been revealed, saw to it that the task force, which he helped found to promote trade with African nations, got nearly $400,000 in city funding. It has been further revealed that the mayor once even overrode a council decision not to fund the agency.

The problem for Bradley has been that St. John now cannot — or will not — account for how she spent $180,000 of taxpayer money; that St. John hired one of Bradley's daughters to work on the task force; and that it appears some of the task force's city funds may have ended up paying the bills of a Riverside County land venture with private financial ties to St. John. Bradley refused to remove himself from city decisions to fund the task force even as the city attorney's office indicated it held a contrary opinion.

After a round of critical newspaper reports, Bradley last April dropped his request for additional city funding of the task force. More recently the mayor has publicly pleaded with St. John to honor a City Council subpoena ordering her to testify about how she spent taxpayer funds. St. John's use of the money remains the subject of an on-going criminal probe by Los Angeles police.

• That Bradley bought investments through Ira Distenfield, a stock broker who gained notoriety by throwing several flamboyant fund-raising parties for the mayor and was a top player in the mayor's political finances.

Distenfield came under media scrutiny after it was learned that he had suggested, in a secret arbitration hearing, that one of his former employers — Smith Barney, Harris Upham and Company — owed him several hundred thousand dollars in brokerage fees because his ties to Bradley had helped the firm obtain a potentially lucrative bond underwriting contract at City Hall.

Although it appeared Distenfield's resignation as a Bradley appointee to the powerful city Harbor Commission might kill further interest in the Distenfield-Bradley connection, that has not proved to be the case. Among the documents the federal grand jury has subpoenaed has been city records dealing with Distenfield and Distenfield's own records about fund raising for the mayor.

Not surprisingly Bradley's woes have quickened the heartbeat of the city's mayoral aspirants. But so far the strongest utterances from this crowd, including City Council President John Ferraro, who would succeed Bradley if the mayor stepped down, and Councilmen Michael Woo and Yaroslavsky have been relatively safe and tame condemnations of Bradley's ethics. The city's newspapers, including the *Times*, a perennial Bradley supporter, also have waxed indignant about the scandal. But none of this has been sufficient to daunt Bradley's desire to hold onto the mayor's office.

And so far the Bradley camp's biggest fear has not been realized: There as yet have been no calls for the mayor's resignation from other elected officials or credible opinion-makers. However, many City Hall observers privately wonder how long Bradley can hold on and maintain any momentum for his drive to raise the large amounts of money needed to pay off his rapidly mounting legal bills. If there are continuing, damaging leaks about the progress and scope of the federal grand jury probe and more disclosures about questionable City Hall deal-making, the dam may burst.

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Bad boy of the Legislature

By Steve Swatt

"Every legislative body needs a character, and Dick Floyd is a genuine American article."

How about a second opinion: "His behavior is atrocious on the floor of the California State Assembly."

The first assessment is from Democratic Assemblyman Mike Roos. The second is from Republican Assemblyman Gil Ferguson. Both are talking about Dick Floyd, a tough-talking, chain-smoking, archetypical blue-collar lawmaker from Hawthorne whose R-rated antics in the Legislature are not for the squeamish.

Consider:

• After his legislation to require motorcyclists to wear helmets was vetoed, Floyd lambasted Governor George Deukmejian during an Assem-

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Steve Swatt is Capitol correspondent for Sacramento television station KCRA.

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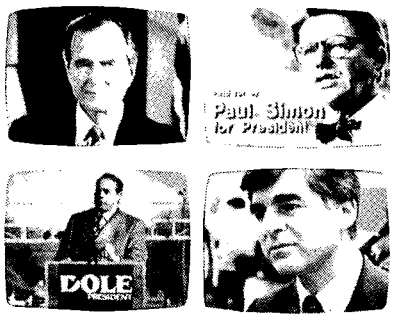

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bly floor speech, calling him "an S.O.B." ("I'm sorry I said it on the floor," Floyd says. "My mamma raised hell with me. But he *is* an S.O.B. — a sweet old boy.")

• During debate on Floyd's second motorcycle helmet bill, Orange County Republican Gil Ferguson argued that government shouldn't dictate to adults what they must wear on their heads. Floyd shot back: "We don't have to tell Mr. Ferguson that. We know where his head is, full-time where the sun doesn't shine."

• Then there was the time Floyd tried to persuade the Assembly to approve his bill to authorize a new lottery game. His arguments weren't making many points. In fact, most lawmakers weren't paying attention. Floyd angrily grabbed the microphone. "Will you get some order in this god-damn house?" (To many, having Dick Floyd urge order in the house is the supreme irony. With his occasional hot temper and blunt dialogue, it is he who often fans the fires at the Capitol, then douses them with kerosene for good measure.)

"Mr. Speaker," responded Republican Tom McClintock. "I object to the language used on the floor. The gentleman should be asked to withdraw the remarks and proceed in order, or be asked to be seated."

Never one to let someone else have the last word, Floyd shot back: "Yeah, I think McClintock's right. He ought to shut up and sit down."

Incidentally, Floyd lost his bill that day. It needed 54 votes. It fell a tad short, getting only 17.

All in a day's work for the 58-year-old Democrat.

During the twice-weekly floor sessions, Floyd sits in the back row of desks, puffing on one cigarette after another despite house rules that forbid smoking. "It's a big building with an 80-foot ceiling," he says. "Besides, it's a silly rule."

Floyd crushes the cigarette and starts to walk up and down the Assembly aisles. "Hi'ya doin' babe?" he says to Assemblywoman Sally Tanner. Then he gets to Bakersfield's Trice Harvey. "Spill soup on your tie?"

Floyd has been terrorizing the Assembly for nine years, representing the working-class 53rd District, which includes Gardena, Lawndale and some of the Harbor-San Pedro area. Much of his district is heavily unionized. Floyd carries a raft of bills for organized labor dealing with Cal-OSHA, minimum wage and working conditions. He considers himself a common man, representing a common district, talking plain English the way working people talk. Their issues are his issues.

He remembers his first taste of politics in 1952. The Korean War veteran had just been discharged from the Army. He was driving down Hawthorne Boulevard one day. "I saw this guy in a torn sweatshirt putting political signs in a car. I asked him for a bumper sticker. It turned out to be Glenn Anderson [who eventually became lieutenant governor and currently is a member of Congress]. He sent me to a Democratic club."

Floyd, who never went to college,

To many, having Dick Floyd urge order in the house is a supreme irony.

became a salesman and kept his hand in politics.

In 1966 Floyd directed an unsuccessful state Senate campaign for a Compton city councilman. But he earned the respect of the winner, Ralph Dills, who brought both the councilman and Floyd onto his staff. After two failed attempts for a Democratic Assembly nomination, Floyd in 1980 hooked up with the political machine run by Los Angeles Congressman Henry Waxman and then-Assemblyman (now Congressman) Howard Berman and won the primary and general elections.

Once in Sacramento, Floyd quickly made a name for himself thanks, in large part, to his bombastic, irreverent style and the causes he embraced. And as a veteran staffer, he knew the ropes in a game that frequently takes a rookie several terms to master.

Currently, Floyd is chairman of the Assembly Governmental Organization Committee, which has jurisdiction over legislation affecting horse racing, gambling and liquor interests. Floyd has introduced legislation to legalize betting in California. He says the Lottery proves that the state can run a clean gaming operation. "Besides," he says, "if we seriously enforced the laws against bookmaking in this state, 25 percent of the people would have begun proceedings to make bail."

On some of Sacramento's warm

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summer evenings when the Legislature is in session, you can find Floyd at the Cal Expo harness races. "I like to watch the ponies," he says as he studies the *Racing Form*. He places a bet on a longshot and watches it edge the field at the finish, returning a $18.60 payoff. His love of gambling (he's been known to frequent the crap and blackjack tables at Lake Tahoe) goes back four decades. "We used to bet at a bookie in a pool hall in Hawthorne. We'd get together two or four bucks. The bookie loved us. He used to laugh at us."

Between races, the five-term assemblyman walks around the paddock. He kisses a female driver and pets the horse she'll be driving in the third race. "Hello sweetheart," he says. He turns away from the sleek animal. "Aren't they magnificent." Then he pauses. "Either that or Kal Kan."

At the Capitol the next day, Floyd is declining to take up his bills on the floor of the Assembly. His bills are controversial. He needs all the votes he can get, and a number of lawmakers are absent. "It's tough sleddin' when there ain't no snow," he bellows when his name is called.

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown offers this assessment of the blunt, irascible legislator: "Absolutely independent, totally self-confident, very opinionated, terribly offensive to individual fellow members without being malicious. And that's Dick Floyd."

Floyd says he simply says what's on his mind. And according to Assemblyman Mike Roos, that's one of his most endearing qualities. "I think that his quick wit and acerbic comments usually pinpoint the weaknesses in his opponents' debate. I think he's a marvel and a delight to serve with."

That opinion, however, is not unanimous. Ferguson, one of Floyd's frequent targets, is his most outspoken critic. "I'm a gentleman. I was a Marine for 26 years. My job was to kill people, but I don't call people names on the floor of the Assembly."

Ferguson at one point proposed that Republicans demand an apology of Floyd, or that he be censured after one of his frequent outbursts. He suggested that GOP lawmakers might protest by walking off the floor. "The Republicans have waited for three years for the Democrats to do something to take care of

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their own children," he said.

Ferguson's threat was not implemented. And Dick Floyd continued to be, well, Dick Floyd.

"If they think I'm atrocious, then I'm making a point. And I'm pleased," Floyd says, referring to members of what he calls the "sissy caucus."

Ferguson contends Floyd's combative style intimidates opponents. "We have a lot of members who are fearful of him and they pass his legislation just to get him away from them. They're afraid he'll call them names."

But Floyd sees it differently: "They're not intimidated by me. They [Assembly Republicans] come at me full-time. In fact, you'll find they'll vote against my bills just because the name 'Floyd' is on it. That's a point of pride with me."

Floyd's friends say his gruff exterior and pit-bull style belie his true demeanor. One lobbyist calls him a "pussycat with a heart of gold." And don't suggest to Republican Assemblyman Gerald Felando that Floyd is anything other than a gentleman. "Just because a person has the courage to say what's on his mind in the manner in which he wants to say it doesn't mean he's the class clown," said Felando.

Floyd is not only a favorite target of Republicans on the Assembly floor but in electoral contests as well. He nearly was upset in the 1986 general election, winning with 53 percent of the vote after withstanding a last-minute blitz by his Republican challenger. Part of that GOP effort was a one-page letter that claimed to be from President Ronald Reagan at the White House, accusing Floyd of refusing to vote on tough anti-drug legislation. It hit the district the day before the election. "Dick Floyd chose to give in to the powerful underworld drug industry," the mailer said. "If you believe in the campaign Nancy and I have worked on for the past few years, the campaign to teach our young people to 'Say No To Drugs,' then you must 'Say No to DICK FLOYD' on Election Day."

The letter, written and mailed without Reagan's knowledge, ended up embarrassing the California Republican Party. Chairman Clair Burgener apologized to President and Mrs. Reagan "for the unfortunate situation ... in which your names were used without authorization."

Among the constituents to receive one of the "White House" mailers was Floyd's 87-year-old mother. "I can handle it," Floyd says. "It doesn't bother me. But I have daughters, sisters and my mother living in the district. My mamma should not have had to walk in amongst her friends and see a letter purportedly from the president of the United States saying: 'Your son is a drug dealer with underworld connections.' That was too low."

A Sacramento County grand jury indicted Assemblyman John Lewis, architect of the Republican Assembly electoral strategy, on felony forgery charges. Lewis has pleaded innocent, and a scheduled late-September trial was postponed indefinitely.

Floyd's effectiveness as a legislator is difficult to judge. Many of his bills, like his horses, are longshots. Measures introduced on behalf of organized labor, for example, are routinely sacked by the Republicans.

Often it's Governor Deukmejian who gets the honors of shooting down a Dick Floyd bill. In fact, the Hawthorne Democrat has earned a reputation as the Legislature's most-vetoed member. The governor's office can't confirm it, because it doesn't keep those types of statistics. But it makes sense.

In the first place, Floyd leads the league in the number of bills he carries — 137 so far during the 1989-90 session. Secondly, his idea of good policy often conflicts with Deukmejian's.

"Many of his bills circumvent the collective bargaining process," asserts Kevin Brett, Deukmejian's press secretary, and are so noted in the governor's veto messages. Brett stresses, however, that Deukmejian never vetoes a Floyd bill out of spite or anger.

Was the governor upset when Floyd called him an "S.O.B."? "No," said Brett, "that's what we expect from Dick Floyd. We're never surprised by the things he says or does."

A few hundred yards east of the Capitol stands California's newly built Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The names of every Californian killed in the war are enshrined on the monument. Floyd, who was wounded in Korea, never served in Vietnam. But the former chairman of the Assembly Veterans Affairs Committee considers his role in creating the memorial his greatest achievement since arriving in Sacramento.

"I think we've got the most beautiful memorial in the country," he says. "If I never do anything else in the Legislature at least I've done this. When we dedicated it last December and I stood up on that stage and looked out at a sea of people, I forgot what I was supposed to say."

Capture the moment and save it for the ages. Dick Floyd at a loss for words? Who'd believe it?

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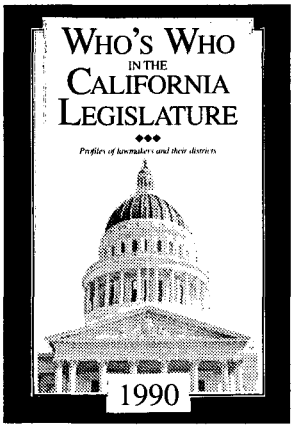

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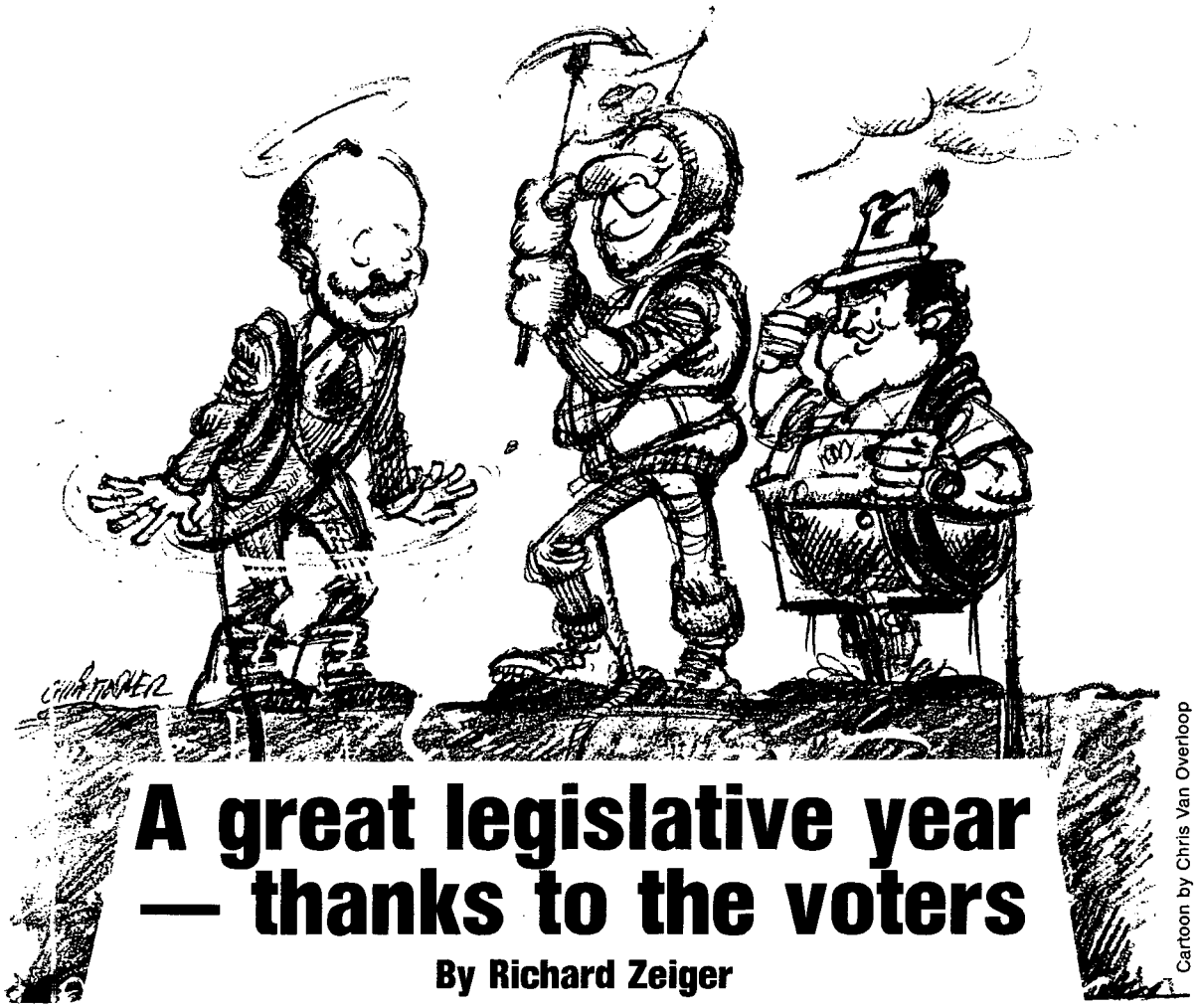

Cartoon by Chris Van Overloop

A great legislative year — thanks to the voters

By Richard Zeiger

On the weekend following the conclusion of the first half of the Legislature's biennial session, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. told a radio audience that 1989 had been "a very good year." He was joined in that assessment by a host of state officials, from Governor George Deukmejian on down, each congratulating himself and the others for a job well done.

But even the speaker, to whom hyperbole is no stranger, added the caveat that the session was "amongst the most successful in recent years."

In was, in fact, a session in which those with short memories could take pride.

At first blush, there had been a host of accomplishments. Plans had emerged for coming to grips with the state's transportation woes, a long-overdue increase had been approved for the workers' compensation program, the sale of assault rifles had been curtailed and lawmakers had taken steps to clean up their own tarnished ethical image.

But it was also a session where many of the successes were the result of, or will be dependent upon, the will of the voters.

Most of the more substantial legislation passed this year will come about only because voters provided extra money last year in the form of bond measures or new tobacco taxes, or because they are being called upon in June to approve a gasoline tax increase and clearer limits on what constitutes ethical legislative behavior.

Still, the Legislature needed a boost from a governor who said he would not run for the third term before it developed the political courage to turn over to voters decisions they had the power to make for themselves. Deukmejian's announcement late last year that he would not seek a third term changed the political mix — and apparently changed Deukmejian, too.

The governor became more cooperative, less intransigent, say legislative leaders. Some said Deukmejian had just lost interest; that he no longer had the stomach for a fight. But more often it was the Democratic leaders in the Legislature who were willing to bend, since they no longer feared handing a political victory to a governor who could then claim credit in an upcoming election campaign.

"Democratic lawmakers could feel a little more comfortable in working with me, in trying to reach solutions to problems, knowing that I would then not be using that in terms of going before the voters and trying to gain enough votes for a re-election campaign based on those achievements," offered the governor at a end-of-session press conference.

Legislators were willing, for example to accede to Deukmejian's insistence that the state's electorate approve any increase in gasoline taxes. As a result, the June 1990 ballot will contain the seeds of an $18.5 billion plan to improve the state's transportation system. Legislative approval of the plan was at the center of a compromise that allowed legislative Democrats to spread an unexpected $1 billion windfall in general fund revenues among state programs. Extra money made crafting the state budget easier and set the tone for cooperation after the Summer recess.

Deukmejian also proved implacable in his insistence that the Legislature go forward with his proposal to put more

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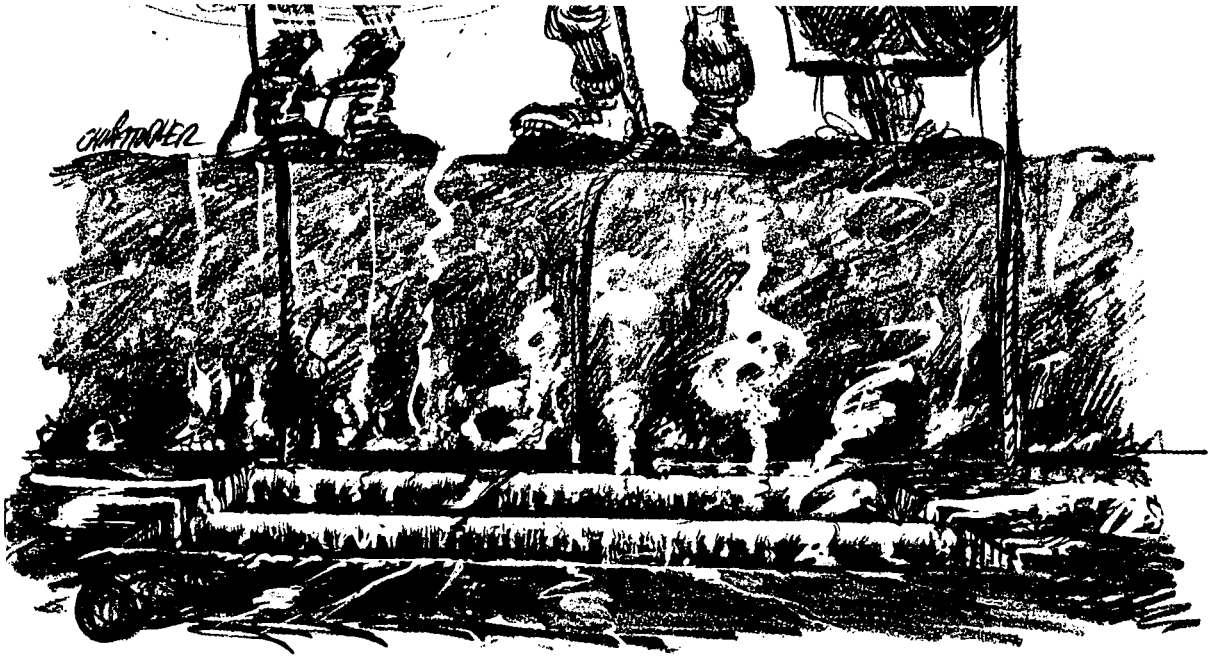

prison inmates to work — a plan the Democrats, at the behest of organized labor, refused to grant, even though it is one program that actually would need a public vote to begin. In the process, Deukmejian held hostage the restoration of money for the state's family planning programs — money he had cut from the budget after groups such as Planned Parenthood bought newspaper advertisements criticizing Deukmejian policies. If this was a political victory for Deukmejian, it was a pyrrhic one for the state's taxpayers, since studies show that every dollar cut from the family planning budget will eventually cost them between $6 and $10 in increased state spending for health and welfare costs.

Deukmejian can also take some of the credit for the long-overdue changes in the state's workers' compensation program. His administration brought together the insurance firms, business interests and labor unions represented by the AFL-CIO in a coalition that just might have been strong enough to break a legislative stalemate that had lasted eight years and resulted in California having one of the most expensive compensation systems in the country, yet one that paid some of the lowest benefits. In the process, these groups would have to freeze out the lawyers who represent injured workers and a raft of public employee unions who were in favor of increased worker benefits but opposed to the reforms that were proposed to finance those increases (see "Workers' compensation," *CJ*, October 1989.)

By the end of the session, however, even this coalition wasn't strong enough to completely reform the system. The Legislature ended up passing a program that gave benefit increases half the size of those originally proposed and reforms that were much weaker than initially planned. Legislators hailed it as a good first step since benefits would increase by 50 percent, but critics argued that it was just further proof that lawmakers were incapable of taming the special interests.

Lawmakers and the governor also took pride in the ban on semi-automatic assault rifles passed early in the session in the wake of the mass killing of children on a Stockton schoolyard. The National Rifle Association, which protested the ban, was handed its first substantial legislative defeat in years. But the pattern did not hold, and other bills — including one that would have imposed a delay before any weapon could be purchased so that police checks could be made — were killed in the Senate.

Legislators did manage to approve a bill that would distribute the proceeds from the Proposition 99 cigarette-tax increase (expected to raise some $600 million per year) sending most of the money to the counties for health care programs, including the financially strapped hospital emergency rooms (see "Emergency-care crisis," *CJ*, October 1989).

But if elected officials made progress on this health-care front, there was little headway in taking care of five million Californians who are employed but have no medical insurance (see "MIA," *CJ*, June 1989). Assembly Speaker Brown had authored a measure that would have required nearly all employers to offer health insurance programs. But that approach was opposed by business groups and by the governor, and Brown eventually settled for a bill that forms a study task force and also will provide tax incentives to small employers who offer health insurance.

Brown and Deukmejian claimed that incentives were enough to encourage more employers to offer health plans, but critics said that all the bill would end up doing is giving a tax break to firms that already have such plans.

No one, however, was claiming that any progress had been made on another insurance front: The state's elected officials again were unable to do anything about the automobile insurance mess. This was one case where even the intersession of the voters, who in 1988 approved Proposition 103 and its court-blocked 20 percent rate rollback, apparently could not break the political logjam.

An attempt by consumer groups to push for a no-fault plan was stopped in committee. Speaker Brown offered a bill that would have created a low-cost auto insurance program that he said could be financed by increased safety inspections of automobiles, getting drivers now without insurance to buy the new policies and the aggressive pursuit of fraudulent insurance claims. But the measure was strongly opposed by the insurance industry, which said that those who currently have insurance would end up subsidizing those who bought the new low-cost policies. Although the measure cleared the Legislature — an action Brown said proved that at least the Legislature could respond — the bill was vetoed by Deukmejian.

There were a few areas, though, where the elected officials clearly made some progress.

The Legislature and governor agreed on a program for

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managing the state's solid waste that sets goals for having at least 50 percent of the state's refuse recycled by the year 2000. Included in the package were bills that require newspapers to use more recycled newsprint and one that will raise the deposit on recyclable bottles and containers. Even here, politics was not absent. Overseeing the program will be a strange six-person board dominated by gubernatorial appointments. There were strong suspicions around the Capitol that Deukmejian wanted the board as a place to find jobs for some of his appointees who would otherwise be unemployed when he leaves office.

But the measure that one legislative aid insisted was the "crown jewel" of the session was the proposed constitutional amendment that will impose new ethical standards on the Legislature.

Here again, the politicians left the final adoption of reform to the voters, who will be asked in June 1990 to approve the broad outlines of reform. Included in this package will be a prohibition on outside speaking fees and gifts in exchange for the creation of a new California Citizens Compensation Commission that lawmaker expect will set new, higher salaries for legislators. This is one time where lawmakers probably would have preferred to keep the voters uninvolved. But the current legislative salaries are already fixed in the state Constitution, and lawmakers cannot get the raise they want without getting voter approval.

Some legislators are currently reaping thousands of dollars per year in speaking fees, nearly all of it from groups that are doing business with the lawmakers. It is money that can be used personally. Legislators, of course, could have banned the practice without going to the voters, but the will to take that action was not there absent the assurance that incomes would be raised in some other way. The approach left the cynical with the conclusion that the practice of accepting speaking fees is apparently ethically wrong only if a lawmaker is well paid.

Also included in the measure were provisions requiring legislators to act in open session and to disqualify themselves in cases of a conflict-of-interest — requirements lawmakers have long imposed on every other level of government but never on themselves.

Left out of the reform program, however, was any effort to clean up the way politicians raise money for political campaigns. The courts are still trying to sort out Propositions 68 and 73, the two measures approved by voters in June 1988.

Indeed, this failure to address the campaign-financing issue will lead to some interesting ethical conundrums should the new ethics package be approved. Under the new ethics rules, for example, it would be a conflict of interest for a legislator to take money from a lobbyist, if that money is going into a personal bank account. That lawmaker could not vote on any measure affecting that lobbyist's clients for a year. But if that same payment goes to the lawmaker's campaign account — the account that gets him or her the job in the first place — there will be no conflict of interest.

Most of the outside reform groups believe reforming the campaign-financing system will have the greater affect on the political process. Individual corruption in the Legislature is still rare, they argue, but the practice of having to raise money from special interest groups warps the entire political process and has an effect on even the most incorruptible of lawmakers.

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,178 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

New in circulation:

HUMAN LIFE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Andrew Eppink of Palmdale, that places in the state Constitution an affirmation that "the right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization regardless of age, health, or condition of dependency." (February 16, 1990)

Continuing in circulation:

AIDS — an initiative statute sponsored by Bruce Decker of the Health Policy and Research Foundation (Los Angeles), Dr. Michael Gottlieb (Sherman Oaks) and Reverend William Wood of the California Catholic Conference (Sacramento). (October 27th; July 1989 *CJ*)

RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Chamberlain of Sacramento. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

SPLIT ROLL PROPERTY TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Bill Zimmerman of Santa Monica. (October 30th; July 1989 *CJ*)

CRIMINAL LAW — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim, Colleen Thompson Campbell of San Juan Capistrano, and Kern County District Attorney Edward Jagels. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

ELECTION DATES — an initiative statute sponsored by Thomas Neece of San Francisco. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

SCHOOL PRAYER — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Eunice Parquet of Oakland. (November 6th; July 1989 *CJ*)

RAIL TRANSPORTATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral and James Knox of Sacramento and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATURE. INTERNAL RULES. REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Brea. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

WILDLIFE PROTECTION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral, Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly and Sharon Negri of Sacramento, and by J. William Yeates of Monterey and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (November 27th; August 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMMISSION — an initiative constitutional amendment *and* statute, sponsored by San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening. (December 11, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John Stanaland of Laguna Beach. (December 11, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE; SUPREME COURT, JUDICIAL REVIEW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by W. Bruce Lee II of Sacramento. (December 18, 1989; September 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATURE. ETHICS. REAPPORTIONMENT. — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gary Flynn of San Rafael. (January 2, 1990; September 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT. POLITICALLY COMPETITIVE DISTRICTS. VOTER REGISTRATION — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Republican state Senator Bill Leonard of Redlands. (January 16, 1990; October 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATIVE TERM LIMITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John MacDonald of Santa Rosa and Gerald Partain of Bayside. (February 13, 1990; October 1989 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State

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CITY PERSPECTIVES
CALIFORNIA YOUTHS EXAMINE LOCAL ISSUES

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That program has since been repeated, and pilot CITY PERSPECTIVES programs have been conducted in San Mateo, Imperial, and Alameda Counties. Each of those programs matched one or more school districts with a cluster of cities. During seminars with a variety of professionals, students examined issues facing local policymakers. Here are some results from our most recently completed program in the TriCity (Newark, Fremont, and Union City) area of Alameda County:

ALAMEDA COUNTY: CITY PERSPECTIVES BALLOT RESULTS

	YES	NO
Fremont Issues:		
1. Should child care in Fremont be provided through increased taxation of its citizens?	57%	42%
2. Choose whoch system of representation is best for Fremont:		
At Large	23%	
District	77%	
Newark Issues:		
1. Is the skateboard park proposed by the Newark Citizen Group a good idea?	83%	17%
2. Should the Housing Development planned on the 135 acre parcel known as "Mahew's Landing" be allowed?	15%	85%
Union City Issues:		
1. The government's Power to Exercise "Eminent Domain" over private property for the "Public Good" is:		
Always Justifiable	00%	
Sometimes Justifiable	73%	
Never Justifiable	27%	
2. I support the New Haven Unified District's plan to expand Logan High School by building across the street?	26%	74%
Statewide Issues:		
1. Should the State of California require motorcycle riders to wear helmets?	40%	60%
2. Should the opportunity for California citizens to vote by mail be expanded?	86%	14%
3. Should juveniles who commit murder be subject to the penalty of *Life Without Parole*?	50%	50%
Regional Issues:		
1. Should the cities of Alameda County provide financial incentives to Al Davis to encourage the Raiders to return to Oakland?	30%	70%
2. Should all youths 18 years old or younger who are arrested for any crime be forced to take a drug test?	67%	33%

Capitol Focus plans to develop new CITY PERSPECTIVES programs in additional communities during the next two years. For information about organizing a program in your area or becoming a sponsor please contact:

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Larry Stirling

Lone wolf leaves the Legislature

By Ron Roach

Drawing by Roberta-Anne Kaminski

When the mercurial Larry Stirling left the state Senate to become a judge, his colleagues were stunned, political observers were puzzled and some lobbyists and government bureaucrats felt relieved. It was no secret that Stirling coveted a judgeship, which became his with Governor George Deukmejian's surprise announcement on September 19th, four days after the Legislature recessed at the mid-point of the two-year session. He was sworn in as a San Diego municipal judge 10 days later.

The shock came from the timing of the move. Stirling was within the first year of his first, four-year term as the 39th District state senator. He was not under any political threat.

Those who knew him wondered

Ron Roach is Sacramento bureau chief for the San Diego Tribune.

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why. Some rushed to judgment on his motives.

Did he do it for the money?

Was he frustrated by being in what he called a "lonely" legislative outpost, sort of a one-man defense of the Legislature's integrity at a time when questions of politicians' ethics run rampant?

Was the 47-year-old lawyer-legislator burning out after 12 years in elective office, first as a San Diego city councilman, then eight years in the Assembly before his easy election to the Senate last year?

Stirling rejected the notion that he made the change because he needed a higher salary, adding that the net gain in pay is not as much as many think. He said he was not disenchanted with being a legislator. He said he had been outspoken for years when he felt the media was tarring the entire Legislature because of unproven allegations against a few.

Why leave? Stirling said he yearned for a new challenge and a year-round residence in San Diego, a job with somewhat normal working hours. He said he would really like to slow down, although he's unsure that he can. He quit smoking a pipe several years ago after an angina attack — intense pain from insufficient blood supply to his heart — while driving his family to church one Sunday morning put him in intensive care for a week. A classic "Type A" personality, Stirling was unable to pace himself, even after winning election to the Senate where the action is less hectic than in the Assembly.

Stirling applied for a municipal judgeship in 1985 and passed muster with the California State Bar's qualifications review. He left the application dormant until August 30th, when he lunched with the governor's appointments secretary.

There was surprise that a state legislator, particularly a senator, would take a municipal judgeship, becoming a "junior judge," as Stirling called it, instead of a superior court judge or an appellate justice. He said he did not consider it a step down, but rather a direction he had to take because of a lack of courtroom experience as a lawyer. He intends to move up the judicial ladder.

Some say he also was concerned that he first should prove that he is capable of displaying judicial demeanor, because he sometimes lacked such temperament as a lawmaker. Stirling said he knows he must change what he called his "demeanor."

During his state legislative service, Stirling earned a reputation for being bright and energetic. But he also was unpredictably independent. ("Some people in the governor's office felt he couldn't be trusted to toe the party line," said one longtime Stirling observer.) He also was unusually demanding as a brow-beater of government bureaucrats on behalf of himself and his constituents. He had no patience with inefficiency and often lambasted the Republican administration.

He has castigated underlings and lobbyists, with and without good reason, according to lobbyists.

No one questioned Stirling's dedication and work ethic, his drive and his determination. "He was just difficult to deal with," said a longtime lobbyist, who wanted to comment without attribution because, the lobbyist added, go, "had the worst judicial temperament of anyone I knew," Craven said. "Yet he has done quite well as a superior court judge." The veteran senator added that Stirling "can at times be a loose cannon. He can be set in his ways. He's going to have to temper that some. He'll have to be laid back. He can create some problems, and he has, in certain quarters. He attacked the bureaucracy. Sometimes I think he likes to say things that shock others, but rarely did what he said change the course of human events.

"He's extremely dedicated, smart and sharp. His intelligence is a wonderful asset. He has to use his intelligence and realize he can get more with sugar than with salt and vinegar," Craven said.

"He has to use his intelligence and realize he can get more with sugar than with salt and vinegar."

— Senator William Craven

"He may be back." Another lobbyist said Stirling would "tilt at windmills. He wanted to change the world and never quite succeeded."

Said another lobbyist, also not for attribution, "There was great jubilation in just about every government department I know of because Larry deluged them with constituent mail and his own inquiries vastly more than any other legislator. I've not met anybody who says, 'Isn't it a shame he's leaving here?'"

James Cassie, lobbyist for San Diego Gas and Electric, who for the past year successfully battled Stirling bills designed to thwart a proposed merger between SDG&E and Southern California Edison, said, "It is a good appointment. I just don't want to get a traffic ticket in San Diego."

Senator William Craven, Stirling's Republican colleague from nearby Oceanside, said Stirling was a loner who made problems for himself. "I don't know that he had any close associates at all [among legislators]. He never buddied around with anybody. That's not to say he wasn't cordial," Craven said.

He said he did not want to pass judgment on the question of judicial temperament. Larry Kapiloff, a former Democrat assemblyman from San Die-

Stirling also looked for opportunities. For instance, when in the Assembly, he became impatient with partisan politics and went to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a San Francisco Democrat, who made Stirling chairman of the Committee on Public Safety. For a time, he was the lone Republican chairing a standing policy committee in the Assembly. As a first-term senator, Stirling was a member of the influential Judiciary Committee. He even toyed with the idea of running for attorney general on a "Pete Wilson ticket."

Harvey Zall, who was the lobbyist for the State Public Defender's Office when Stirling led the Public Safety panel, said of Stirling: "He's a very bright, able, knowledgeable person, and he's going to be in a different role now, where he has to be an impartial arbiter and not a partisan advocate. He's aware that a different temperament is required." Zall added that he was "dumfounded" by the timing of the appointment.

"He'll be independent and use his best judgment. Anybody who thinks he's a given does not know the man. He'll apply the law and not create it, which is what a good judge ought to be," said Zall.

The appointment stirred some

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controversy, which Stirling said was overblown and fanned by an erroneous newspaper report. It angered him to read words that implied he was motivated by greed.

A newspaper reported that Stirling was actively seeking a judgeship while carrying a bill to improve judges' benefits in San Diego. However, the bill, which he said was sought by judges in San Diego and unopposed by the county, was signed into law in late June, two months before Stirling "activated" his judicial application.

There also was criticism of Stirling for deserting his Senate seat and requiring an expensive special election, merely to satisfy a quest for a higher salary. Stirling said the election-costs issue was raised by Susan Golding, chairwoman of the San Diego County Board of Supervisors, because she didn't want the seat going to Republican Assemblywoman Carol Bentley and might covet it for herself.

Municipal judges make $82,054 a year. The base pay for legislators is $40,816, but they also receive $88 in tax-free expense money for every day the Legislature is in session, including weekends. To net that much additional income, after taxes, a legislator would have to be paid an additional $25,000 to $30,000 a year. Senators also have up to $450 monthly car allowances and gasoline credit cards. A recently retired state senator once commented that he had to earn $80,000 a year on the outside to keep pace with what he had received, with all the perquisites, as a legislator.

Stirling, who was honored as the outstanding graduate of the Class of 1964 at San Diego State University, joined the U.S. Army and went from private to captain during the first three years of a four-year hitch. He then went from administrative trainee for the City of San Diego to budget analyst for the police department, and was elected to the city council in 1977. He moved to the state Assembly in 1980.

After authorship of more than 200 state laws, including measures that protect whistle blowers of government misdeeds and bolster public pension fund assets, he said the time came to shift into a fourth career.

"I enjoy this, but this can't be forever," he said before he resigned from the Senate. "I had always looked forward to the day when the time would come that I could no longer be a legislator."

Stirling said he has been driven by "the sense of a need to contribute. I'm not driven by money or any of that stuff. So, when I look at things like the '911' [emergency telephone] system in San Diego, or the automated regional justice information system, or the police substations, or the Mission Trails Park, I take profound satisfaction in having been part of the proposal and the execution of those ideas."

He passed the State Bar exam "on the first try" after gaining his juris doctorate in 1974 from Western State University, but he has not had experience practicing law.

"I didn't mind starting over as an administrative trainee [after being a captain of soldiers], and I didn't mind starting over as a junior city councilman, and I didn't mind starting over as a junior assemblyman, and I certainly don't mind starting over as a junior judge. How else do you get experience in all these different fields?

"If I ever come back as governor or attorney general, I'm going to be a damn good one, that's for sure."

Stirling brims with self-confidence — some call him cocky — and he said in response to a question that he would not rule out the possibility that he could return to politics in the future. He stressed that it was not something currently on his mind.

"There was no single thing that changed my mind [about being a senator]. There were no financial problems," Stirling said. He has recently undergone a divorce and has alimony and child-support obligations, but added that the divorce was not a factor in his career decision. Otherwise, he refused to discuss that chapter of his personal life. "It was just in my view of myself and my opportunity to serve the people of San Diego. It included someday being a judge, and that day came."

By taking the judicial post now, Stirling could have time to develop enough of a track record to be considered for elevation to the superior court before Deukmejian leaves office at the end of next year. Kevin Brett, Deukmejian's press secretary, said there certainly would be the possibility, citing the governor's record of promoting judges he had appointed within such a time span. Also, Brett said the prospect of Deukmejian being succeeded by Republican U.S. Senator Pete Wilson, a former San Diego mayor when Stirling was on the council, could be a plus for Stirling's judicial future.

"I hope I will learn to do a good enough job and I'll gain enough respect in that field that I will move up," Stirling said. "I plan on it, but it's a new field. It requires a new demeanor, a new knowledge. I'm just tremendously lucky to be able to shift fields like this in mid-life..."

Continued on next page

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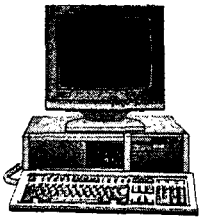

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Stirling said that at most his increase in pay will be $15,000 a year, "but that's not the real raise. The real raise is living in San Diego and not commuting back and forth to Sacramento, working 8 to 10 hours a day rather than 14 to 16 hours, seven days a week. The real raise is the regular responsibility for a change.

"Being a legislator, especially if you're reasonably thoughtful about it, is like being a medical doctor. You have patients and concerns all the time, 24 hours a day. You have three people in the office who do nothing except take in complaints, and have state agencies respond to them. We have hundreds and hundreds of those, all the time."

Stirling's legislative career also has included contradictions, however. Referring to his authorship of the judicial-benefits bill, he said he initially criticized the agreement between the judges and the county supervisors to have the county pay more of the judges' benefit package. He then agreed to carry the bill to ratify the agreement at the request of the presiding judge.

"If I had any interest in that bill, a pay raise or anything, the last thing I would have done was to have questioned the raise or to have carried the bill," Stirling said. "I just wouldn't have done it. It never occurred to me to put the two together. I was cooperating with a separate branch of government in a housekeeping measure."

Then there was the case of a young woman who was slain after her car was pulled over by a state highway patrolman who was later convicted of murder. Stirling introduced a bill that would have given motorists more peace of mind by allowing them to drive to a well-lit area before stopping. Faced with law-enforcement opposition, Stirling eventually gutted the bill and became the author of a law that increased the penalties for those who attempt to evade police efforts to pull them over.

Of the cost to hold a special election to replace him, Stirling replied, "... if they just do a cost-benefit analysis, my service to the people of San Diego has been very beneficial." He said he looked forward to duty on the court, to "live under some of the laws that I helped pass, and see whether they were wise or not, to get a taste of my own medicine."

In the final days of the 1989 session, as Republican and Democratic leaders were pushing for a code of ethics for legislators, Stirling stood and spoke against the measure, urging his colleagues to help him defend the Legislature against California Common Cause. He referred to the public interest lobby as "Communist Cause," an intentional slip of the tongue.

Stirling dared reporters to come up with specific allegations of corruption and turn evidence over to the authorities. He made angry floor speeches that singled out *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters, who devoted a whole column to Stirling on the day before the judicial appointment was announced.

Walters wrote: "Stirling goes through life more or less permanently ticked off ... [and] can agitate himself about almost any topic." Walters said Stirling's "holier-than-thou sanctimony gets a little old after awhile."

Stirling sent Walters' column to Sacramento County District Attorney Steve White, suggesting that Walters be interviewed to determine whether broad statements in the column merited an investigation of any legislator.

He received a September 20th letter from White which reported that discussions with Walters uncovered no particular information "to justify a criminal investigation at this time." On a copy of White's letter, faxed to a reporter, Stirling wrote: "I rest my case."

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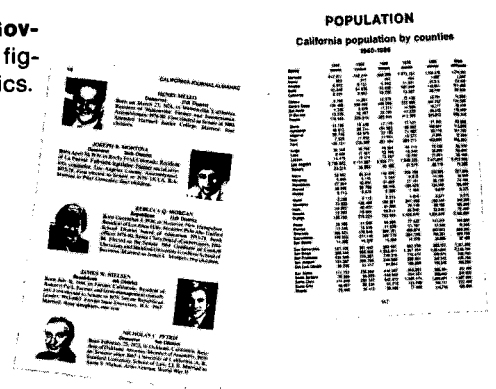

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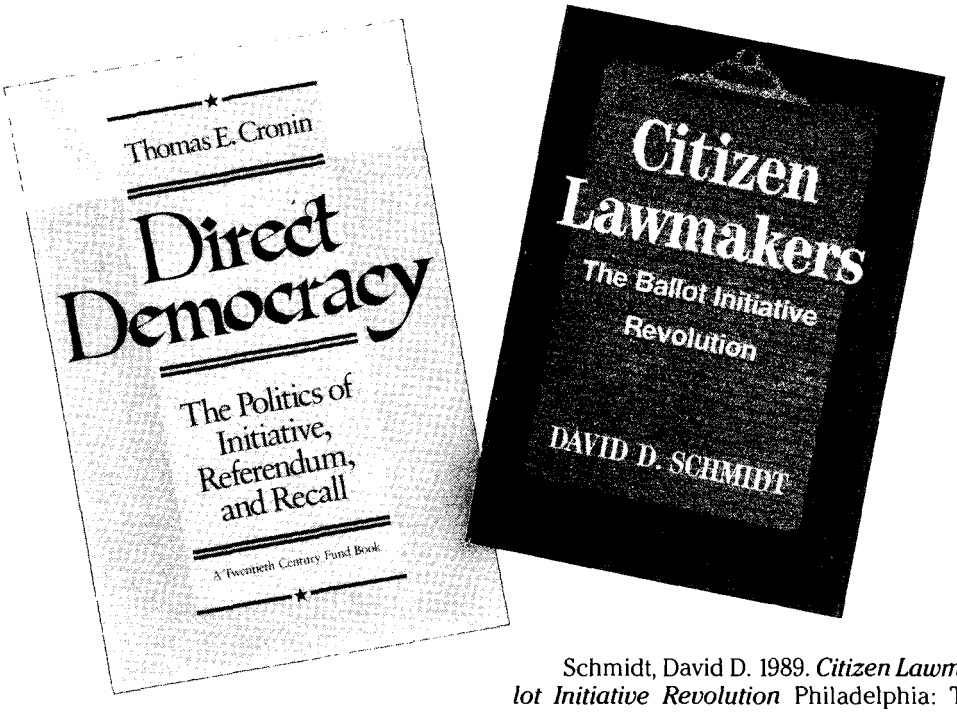
California Journal Book Review

Two views of the initiative

By Charles Price



Cronin, Thomas E. 1989. *Direct Democracy The Politics of Initiative, Referendum and Recall* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Schmidt, David D. 1989. *Citizen Lawmakers — The Ballot Initiative Revolution* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Although a great many initiatives qualified for ballots in the early part of this century, the years immediately following adoption of this petition process by various states — from the 1940s through the 1960s — saw initiative activity in the states decline dramatically. As the population grew, amassing the ever-increasing number of signatures needed to qualify a petition became more complicated. Indeed, many experts at the time were convinced that the initiative process was mainly a historic relic of the Progressive Era quite unsuited to contemporary politics.

However, legislating through direct democracy has had a substantial revival in the past two decades. And, perhaps deserving the lion's share of credit (or blame, depending upon one's perspective) for the resurgence of the initiative are two Californians: populist folk heroes Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann, who started the current revival with their Proposition 13 tax-protest movement. Successful adoption of Proposition 13 in California in 1978 spurred anti-establishment tax-cut drives in initiative states across the country.

Charles Price is a professor of political science at CSU, Chico, and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

Because of the burgeoning number of successful petition drives in the 23 initiative states, and the substantive importance of these issues, a number of scholars have recently turned their attention to this long-neglected subject. Cronin's and Schmidt's texts published this year, along with David Magleby's 1984 *Direct Legislation* (The Johns Hopkins University Press) and a host of other authors' articles, are significant contributions to a rapidly growing direct-democracy literature.

While each of the three texts focuses on direct democracy, and although they share some overlapping information, the approach each author brings to the subject and each's overall evaluation of the initiative and referendum is decidedly different.

David Magleby's book is the most analytical of the three: He uses the latest in sophisticated social science methodology in examining initiatives. Magleby, a Brigham Young University political scientist, is also the most critical of citizen legislating. The main theme of Magleby's text is that the process, as currently constituted, is being badly abused. In pursuing this theme, Magleby discusses the role of "big money" and the petition industry in qualifying initiatives for the ballot, the duplicity in proposition campaigns, and also the lack of information typical voters bring to the voting booth when confronting complicated initiatives.

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Cronin, a professor of political science at Colorado College, and Schmidt, director of the Initiative Resource Center of San Francisco, are much more positive about the contributions of direct democracy than is Magleby. While Cronin does argue for substantial reforming of the initiative process, overall he is very supportive.

Cronin's text focuses heavily on the historical development of direct democracy in the United States from the Levellers of 17th Century England; to the writings of French political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose views profoundly influenced the framers of our Constitution; to Jefferson's "will of the people;" to town meetings of New England; and on to the Populist and Progressive reform movements which championed the initiative, referendum and recall.

Cronin contends that the direct democracy devices were typical American reformist tinkering. Since state legislatures in the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th Centuries had failed to live up to expectations — many were corrupt, special-interest dominated and incompetent — the solution was to give the public ultimate control so they could bypass these tainted institutions of government.

Cronin does an excellent job describing the philosophical underpinnings of direct democracy and representative democracy. He explores at length the paradox of direct democracy: What is the proper role of elected representatives in a system where most major policy decisions are decided by a vote of the public?

Cronin's discussion of the politics of initiatives in the contemporary setting is effective but covers little new terrain. As a cautious, judicious scholar, Cronin avoids absolute statements. Thus, as an example, in summarizing his views on whether voters are competent enough to vote intelligently on ballot propositions, he states:

"How competent, informed and rational are ballot issue voters? Not as competent as we would like them to be, yet not as ill-informed or irrational as critics often insist."

Cronin is also concerned about the "WASP" bias of the typical initiative voter, and the inherent threat this poses to the minority community. He, like Magleby, is also keenly worried about the role of "big money" in initiative campaigns. Cronin argues, as do most political scientists, that proponents or opponents of an initiative who have vast spending advantages will be able to dominate the media and, in effect, buy the election.

However, the big spending side has frequently lost in California proposition elections. In the 1988 initiative elections in California the side that spent the most lost 11 out of 18 times. Tobacco interests poured some $21 million dollars into their "no on 99" campaign and lost. Car insurance companies poured $56 million (the opposition spent $29,000) into their "yes on 104" campaign and lost by a 3-1 margin. The alleged deleterious impact of "big money" in initiative voting outcomes, of which Magleby and Cronin are so fearful, can at least be questioned.

The latter third of Cronin's book is the least useful. Much of this discussion repeats points made earlier in his text. He devotes one entire chapter to the national initiative idea, but prospects for such a constitutional amendment seem mainly "pie in the sky."

Overall, the prime contributions of Cronin's text are in his thoughtful and eloquent discussions of the historical-theoretical facets of direct democracy. And in addition, Cronin, unlike Schmidt or Magleby, has a superb chapter dealing with the recall process.

David Schmidt is an unabashed admirer of the initiative and referendum. Schmidt's text is far and away the most enthusiastically supportive of direct democracy of the three text authors. In one chapter he provides suggestions to those living in the 27 non-initiative states how they can best lobby for the initiative process in their state. Not surprisingly, Schmidt is a firm advocate of a national initiative amendment. In another chapter, he provides a campaign manual for those interested in launching an initiative, gives advice on getting signatures, discusses how to prepare a media campaign, and so on. While Schmidt does discuss the pros and cons of direct legislation, he makes short shrift of critics' views of direct democracy.

Perhaps the most significant contributions of Schmidt's book to direct democracy literature are in his case studies of the anti-nuclear energy, nuclear freeze and tax revolt initiative efforts on various states' ballots in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In these chapters Schmidt provides a solid "behind the scenes" description of these initiative drives. Schmidt's book is "must" reading for anyone interested in understanding the practical steps one would need to take to start an initiative in the real-world politics of initiative campaigns.

Schmidt's text, like Cronin's text, is overly long and could be pared back significantly without losing any essential information. The latter third of Schmidt's text contains a 100-plus page appendix of initiative miscellany (of interest to only the most bug-eyed of direct-democracy junkies), initiative and referendum voting results from 1987-1988, a state-by-state description of the development of the successful or unsuccessful efforts to bring direct-democracy to each of the 50 states, a listing of all initiatives passed by voters from 1970-1986, and a compilation of initiative, referendum and recall procedures in the states and localities.

Overall, Tom Cronin and David Schmidt (as well as David Magleby) provide useful descriptions and assessments of the initiative-referendum process. These studies come at a most opportune time. If present trends hold, the 1990s will probably be an all-time banner decade for initiatives in the 23 initiative states.

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation *(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)* 1A. Title of Publication: California Journal. 1B. Publication No. 825300. 2. Date of Filing: September 29, 1989. 3. Frequency of Issue: Monthly. 3A. Number of issues published annually: 12. 3B. Annual subscription price: $32.00/$49.00/$95.00. 4. Office of Publication: 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814. 5. Mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: Same. 6. Full names and complete address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; Editor, Richard Zeiger; Managing editor, A.G. Block, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814. 7. Owner and stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock: California Journal Inc., E.R. Gerber, Gerber & Assoc. DBPP, E.F. Hoeber, T.R. Hoeber, J.W. Hogan, R.B. & M.G. Miller, R. Selix, W.J. Slaton & M.K. Newton, JTWROS: H. Teichert, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814. 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None. 9. Not applicable. 10. Extent and nature of circulation: (Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months) Actual number copies of single issue published nearest to filing date. A. Total number of copies: (20,875) 20,000. B. Paid circulation: 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: (973) 817; 2. Mail subscriptions: (16,856) 17,405. C. Total paid circulation: (17,829) 18,222. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means samples, complimentary, and other free copies: (511) 468. E. Total distribution: (18,340) 18,690. F. Copies not distributed: 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: (1,781) 610; 2. Return from news agents: (754) 700. G. Total: (20,875) 20,000. 11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Barbara Rocco, Business Manager.

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Adman or political consultant?

Cut from the same cloth

By Roy Furchgott

A campaign riddle:

Q: How can you tell an advertising man from a political consultant?

A: Sorry. Trick question. You can't.

If there ever was a difference between admen and political consultants, it no longer exists. Ad firms that once sold doughnuts, toothpaste and beer now capriciously dip into campaigning. Meanwhile, prim political consultants are taking on retail advertising clients as well as "corporate projects" that bear a suspicious resemblance to commercial advertising and public-relations work. As the two camps have embraced each other's methods, they have become nearly indistinguishable.

Behind the homogenization is pure cash incentive — both ad firms and consultants are looking for new ways to bolster shrinking margins and to profit from down time.

Ad firms used to stay out of politics for a lot of good reasons, some of which are *still* good reasons. Chiefly, the short-term intensity of political advertising can distract admen from their valued long-term accounts. In addition, there is a high potential for internal friction.

"Clients may object, and it divides employees. People don't have strong convictions about potato chips," says Jim Dale, corporate creative director of W.B. Doner, a commercial ad firm involved at the top levels of the Dukakis campaign.

However, another major obstacle has been removed. At one time, any consultant or ad agency might never recoup expenses from what turned out to be a losing candidate. But

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consultants and agencies have wised-up — particularly naive ad companies — and restructured billing to insure payments.

In fact, if handled well, a political campaign can mean a quick, sizable cash infusion, which ad agencies seek now more than ever. "Agencies are under constant pressure from clients looking for more service for the same money," says Bob Finn of the management services division of the American Association of Advertising Agencies (the Four-As). "The agencies are facing all kinds of profit problems. I think, as ad companies are under increasingly tougher margins, they have to look to other centers for profit."

One of those centers may be politics.

On a recent Four-A survey, 56 of 765 member firms acknowledged handling political advertising. But according to Hal Shoup, Four-A executive vice president and manager of the organization's Washington, D.C., office, not all Four-A members came clean on the survey. "I asked around, and we came to agree that there are probably four times as many [members] actually involved."

(On the other hand, the American Association of Political Consultants has no comparative numbers, says association president Brad O'Leary, and it is not known how many political consultants dabble in advertising.)

Politics have become especially attractive target for ad firms as campaign budgets have soared. "The money spent on politics has trebled since 1988," says Murray Fishel, a political consultant and program director of the Masters' program in Campaign Management Program at Kent State University. Fishel estimated expenditures at $6 billion (other sources estimated a figure of $4 billion) in 1988. A study by the National Association of Broadcasters (culled from the Federal Election Commission files) showed expenditures in the 1986 House and Senate races alone at $450 million, up from $195 million in 1978.

"You have $250,000 being spent on a small town mayoral race," says Chris Bowman, former political director of the Republican National Committee and now senior vice president of a communications company, Ruder-Finn Inc. "Political advertising is a lucrative business. The cost of advertising is big and the 15 percent commission is tremendous. Lynne Martin [a Republican congressman from Illinois] will spend $4 million on TV alone — whoever places the buy gets $600,000. I hope I make the buy."

If the immediate income of a political campaign isn't enough, there is the prestige and publicity that comes from handling a high profile political campaign — which inevitably leads to more money. "I don't think [political advertising] is *that* lucrative, so you fall back on, 'Is it prestigious?'" says Ron Berger, a partner in Messner, Vetere, Berger, Carey, Schmetterer — a group with a core of former members of Ronald Reagan's "Tuesday Team" of admen turned admen-political consultants. Their resumes include such disparate nuggets as the Dunkin' Donuts "time to make the donuts" campaign and, of course, the Ronald Reagan "It's morning again in America" campaign.

"Agencies all of a sudden make big names for themselves by being in [politics]," said Berger. "I think [Hal] Riney

Advertisement

Books from California Journal

California's Legislature *by James Driscoll.* This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the capital building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6 x 9", 256 pages, paperbound, $4.95. Bulk discount: 10-49 copies, $4.55 ea.; 50-99 copies, $4.25 ea.; 100 or more, $3.95 ea.

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is an example, as we are on a smaller scale. Who is doing political advertising is front page news."

As admen jump the fence into politics, political consultants have eyed the greener grass of corporate and retail advertising. "Political consultants have become major players — like Roger Ailes, who is doing more corporate — fuzzying the line the other way," says Bowman of Rudder-Finn.

Unlike their advertising counterparts, political consultants say they don't face the shrinking margins that are squeezing ad agencies into politics. But they do face increased competition, not only from admen, but from their own swelling ranks. One industry observer estimates the number of political consultants in the U.S. in the early 1960s at less than 100. Currently there are an estimated 5000 political consultants working the country.

At one time, most political consultants tended to be part-timers, so that most of the competition evaporated after a race. "The political consultant once had the image of being someone like a sports reporter making a little money on the side as a consultant," says Joe Cerrell, chairman and past president of the AAPC. "After the election, people went into the bureaucracy they helped elect or back into their old jobs."

Today the situation is different. As campaign budgets burgeoned, candidates wanted consultants with a credible (read: longstanding) reputation. Consultants aiming for the top couldn't just fold their tents and become legislative flunkies during off-years. As more consultants stayed on full time, competition for off-year campaigns has become critical, sending consultants into related fields. Like advertising.

"The same skills you used in putting together a political campaign can be used in an advertising campaign," says Cerrell, who worked for U.S. Senator Al Gore's presidential bid in 1988 and who, in off-years, teaches at the University of Southern California and handles advertising for some McDonald's franchises.

But even consultants who sneer at product advertising are condescending to handle corporate image work, which more and more resembles advertising and which uses the hot image-making tool of video tape. "Everyone who is a media person is out pushing what they think is a promotional video," says AAPC president Brad O'Leary.

At the same time, corporate America is looking to stretch marketing dollars and has turned to some non-traditional sources. Now that political consultants have become high profile, they are being considered an alternative to traditional advertising.

"Corporate America has discovered we [consultants] have something to offer. The corporate guys look at political advertising and see budgets are smaller, deadlines are tighter and there is more bottom-line accountability. We are used to coaching 'amateur actors,' we do media coaching and apply strategy," says Mike Murphy of Mike Murphy Media, who worked on U.S. Senator Robert Dole's presidential campaign in 1988 before working on Bush/Quayle under Roger Ailes, and who is trying to expand his business to capture more corporate work. On a less altruistic note, Murphy adds, "We don't mind the off-year income; it helps stabilize our business a little bit."

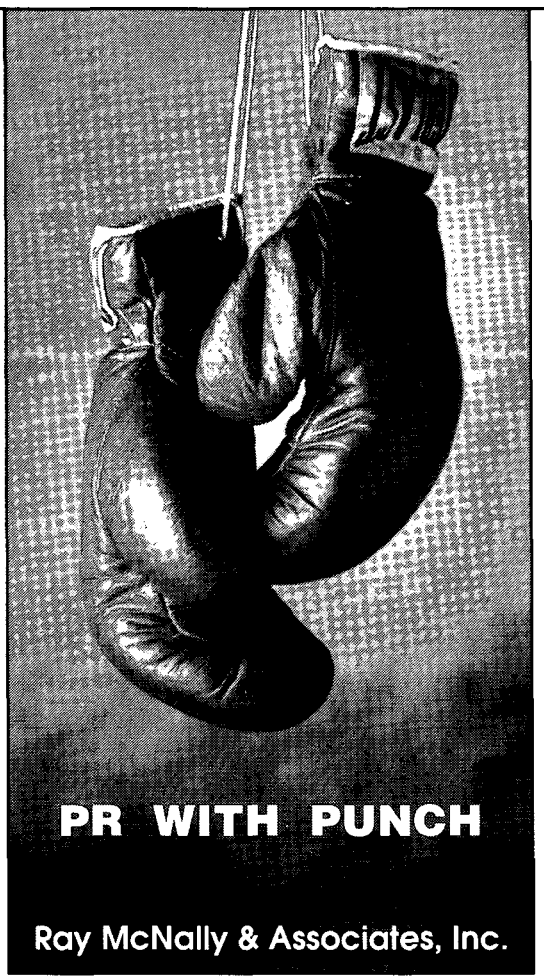
Those promotional videos amount to protracted commercials, usually six minutes to a half hour in length, that are distributed to a limited audience. The videos are commonly used to present issues — legislative or industrial — in Capitol offices, or a CEO's message to a thousand mid-level managers or teeming tribes of stockbrokers. (Surprisingly, even TV commercials known to the trade as "infomercials" now commonly run five minutes to a half hour on late night TV and cable.)

Whether political positioning found its way into advertising, or advertising slickness seeped into politics is a chicken-and-egg argument, but the result is a clear resemblance between the two products. "You look at a bank spot and it's the roly-poly president trying to convince us he is a nice guy while employees walk around in the background," says political consultant Mike Shannon of Mandate Media in Texas. "It is no different than a spot with your candidate as hero."

"It really started with the Tuesday Team in 1984," says Bowman. "The 'morning in America' commericals, images of sunsets and mountains, was positive, puff; it was almost like a Miller Beer commercial."

Even as admen and political consultants begin to tread the same path, they continue to posture, growl and trade invectives. The exchange of bile may have once been a mere exercise in debate, but it now takes on economic underpinings. "These are really just turf battles and everyone is trying to protect their own self interests," says Tom Amico, a founder of creative service Amico/Promios and a new political consultant. "The bottom line is to persuade, period."

Advertisement



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ROLL CALL

HEALTH COVERAGE
AB 27 (Johnston) Prohibits health insurers and other health-care providers from requiring applicants to first qualify for life insurance coverage as a condition of health coverage. Passed Assembly April 27th, 65-0; passed Senate September 1st, 37-0.

PORTABLE CLASSROOMS
AB 47 (Bader) Authorizes eligible school districts, or combinations of school districts formed under a joint powers agreement, to use developer fee revenue to acquire leased portable classroom facilities. Passed Assembly June 1st, 76-0; passed Senate September 1st, 37-0.

WORKER COMPENSATION
AB 276 (Margolin) Would reform the state system for compensating injured workers by increasing benefit payments, reclassifying the injuries, and streamlining claims-processing procedures. Passed Assembly September 15th, 65-2; passed Senate September 15th, 34-0.

INITIATIVE INFORMATION
AB 628 (Kelley) Initiates a system whereby individuals could obtain information from the secretary of state's office relating to the numbers and types of initiatives being circulated or adopted within California cities, counties and special districts. Passed Assembly August 31st, 67-6; passed Senate August 24th, 38-0.

CLEAN DIESEL FUELS
AB 1107 (Moore) Requires the California Energy Commission to provide technical assistance and support for the development of petroleum diesel fuels that are as clean or cleaner than alternative clean fuels. Passed Assembly September 15th, 77-0; passed Senate September 12th, 38-0.

AIDS EDUCATION
AB 1719 (Hayden) Would require employers with 25 employees to provide an AIDS education program for them by July 1, 1990. Passed Assembly September 13th, 42-32; passed Senate September 11th, 39-0.

CALIFORNIA-HAWAII TRADE COMMISSION
AB 1885 (Farr) Would establish a joint California-Hawaii Commission to promote Pacific Rim trade. Passed Assembly, July 17th, 43-26; passed Senate September 11th, 21-9.

PERS/STRS INVESTMENTS: NORTHERN IRELAND
AB 2443 (Burton) Requires boards of administration of the Public Employee's Retirement System and the State Teachers' Retirement System to investigate the extent to which U.S. corporations operating in Northern Ireland, in which PERS and STRS own stock, adhere to the so-called "MacBride Principals" of nondiscrimination in employment. Passed Assembly September 6th, 46-25; Senate August 31st, 25-6.

ADDICTION TREATMENT
SB 439 (Robbins) Authorizes self-insured employee welfare benefit plans, in addition to health care service plans, disability insurance policies and nonprofit hospital service plans that cover hospital, medical or surgical expenses on a group basis, to also provide coverage for treatment of alcoholism, chemical dependency or nicotine. Passed Assembly August 24th, 73-0; passed Senate May 25th, 37-0.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 27	AB 47	AB 276	AB 628	AB 1107	AB 1719	AB 1885	AB 2443	SB 439	SB 861	SB 979	SB 1348	
Alquist	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	Alquist
Ayala	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Ayala
Boatwright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Boatwright
Deddeh	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	-	Deddeh
Dills	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Dills
Garamendi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Garamendi
C. Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	C. Green
B. Greene	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Y	•	B. Greene
L. Greene	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	L. Greene
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Hart
Keene	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Keene
Lockyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lockyer
Marks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Marks
McCorquodale	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	McCorquodale
Mello	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Mello
Montoya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Montoya
Petris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Petris
Presley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Presley
Robbins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Robbins
Roberti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Roberti
Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Rosenthal
Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	-	Torres
Vuich	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Vuich
Watson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Watson

Republicans	AB 27	AB 47	AB 276	AB 628	AB 1107	AB 1719	AB 1885	AB 2443	SB 439	SB 861	SB 979	SB 1348	
Bergeson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Bergeson
Beverly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Beverly
W. Campbell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	W. Campbell
Craven	•	•	-	Y	•	Y	-	Y	•	N	•	Y	Craven
Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Davis
Doolittle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Doolittle
Leonard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Leonard
Maddy	•	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	•	-	Y	Y	Maddy
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Morgan
Nielsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Nielsen
Rogers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	-	Y	Rogers
Royce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	-	Royce
Russell	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Russell
Seymour	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Seymour
Stirling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	•	Y	Stirling

Independents

Kopp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	

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FIREARM SAFETY
SB 861 (Kopp) Requires that every firearm sold by a dealer or manufacturer in California be equipped with a trigger-locking device if the weapon is capable of being so equipped. Passed Assembly September 5th, 41-30; passed Senate September 6th, 25-9.

LEGISLATOR SALARY
SB 979 (Beverly) Increases by the constitutionally permitted maximum of 5% per year, the annual salary of legislators from $40,816 to $44,898. Effective December 3, 1990, for the 1991-92 session. Passed Assembly September 7th, 61-9; passed Senate June 26th, 32-0.

CONTRACT CANCELLATION
SB 1348 (Dills) Provides that a three-day right to cancel a contract applies to seminar sales solicitations. Passed Assembly September 13th, 70-4; passed Senate September 14th, 27-5.

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 27	AB 47	AB 276	AB 628	AB 1107	AB 1719	AB 1885	AB 2443	SB 439	SB 861	SB 979	SB 1348	
Areias	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Areias
Bane	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Bane
Bates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Bates
Bronzan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	•	-	Y	Y	Bronzan
W. Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	W. Brown
Burton	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Burton
Calderon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Calderon
R. Campbell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	R. Campbell
Chacon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Chacon
Clute	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Clute
Condit	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y	•	-	Y	Condit
Connelly	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Connelly
Cortese	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Cortese
Costa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Costa
Eastin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Eastin
Eaves	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Eaves
Elder	•	•	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	-	Y	Y	Elder
Epple	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Epple
Farr	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Farr
Floyd	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Floyd
Friedman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Friedman
Hannigan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hannigan
Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Harris
Hauser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hauser
Hayden	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hayden
Hughes	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hughes
Isenberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Isenberg
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Johnston
Katz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Katz
Killea	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Killea
Klehs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Klehs
Lempert	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lempert
Margolin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Margolin
Moore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Moore
Murray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Murray
O'Connell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O'Connell
Peace	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Peace
Polanco	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Polanco
Roos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Roos
Roybal-Allard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Roybal-Allard
Sher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Sher
Speier	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Speier
Tanner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Tanner
Tucker	•	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Tucker
Vasconcellos	•	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Vasconcellos
M. Waters	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	M. Waters
N. Waters	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N. Waters

Republicans	AB 27	AB 47	AB 276	AB 628	AB 1107	AB 1719	AB 1885	AB 2443	SB 439	SB 861	SB 979	SB 1348	
Allen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Allen
Bader	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Bader
Baker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Baker
Bentley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	Y	N	Y	N	Bentley
D. Brown	Y	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	D. Brown
Chandler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	-	Y	Chandler
Felando	Y	•	-	•	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Felando
Ferguson	Y	Y	•	Y	•	N	N	N	Y	N	-	Y	Ferguson
Filante	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Filante
Frazee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	-	Frazee
Frizzelle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	-	Frizzelle
Hansen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Hansen
Harvey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Harvey
Hill	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	Hill
R. Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	Y	-	R. Johnson
Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Jones
Kelley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Kelley
LaFollette	Y	Y	•	•	•	•	N	•	Y	•	•	•	LaFollette
Lancaster	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	•	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Lancaster
Leslie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Leslie
Lewis	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Lewis
McClintock	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	McClintock
Mojonnier	•	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N	•	N	Y	Y	Mojonnier
Mountjoy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Mountjoy
Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Nolan
Pringle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Pringle
Quackenbush	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	-	Y	Quackenbush
Seastrand	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Seastrand
Statham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Statham
Woodruff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Woodruff
Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	-	Wright
Wyman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Wyman

KEY
– PRESENT/NOT VOTING
• ABSENT

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Oil

The scene was a crowded conference room at the Capitol where congressional negotiators were hammering out a final version of the Interior Department's appropriations bill for the year ahead.

OF MOST INTEREST TO CALIFORNIA was the congressional agreement to ban federal oil leasing off of the state's coast until at least October 1990 — and the debate over whether to slow pre-leasing preparations as well.

As pro- and anti-drilling negotiators bickered over whether to postpone the preparations for leasing and for how long, Representative Bill Lowery gazed intently at charts that he had written in pencil.

Here is one of the charts written by Republican Bill Lowery of San Diego, California's sole representative on the conference committee:

119:
Area ID — Sept. '90
DEIS — Oct. '90
Hearings — Nov. '90
FEIS — Post-Election

The "119" referred to proposed Lease Sale 119, which would stretch from Sonoma County to Santa Cruz. Lowery's chart was an effort to figure out how a particular delay (in this case until next August) would affect the timing of each step in the elaborate ritual of pre-lease preparations (such as the "area identification" of specific leasing tracts, the "draft environmental impact statement," public hearings and the crucial "final environmental impact statement.")

What was intriguing about Lowery's calculations was the "post-election" bottom line on his chart for each of the lease sales planned off of California — his clear preoccupation with making certain that the pre-leasing process drags on at least until after the November, 1990 election.

Lowery seemed flustered when this reporter noticed his politically-tinged calculations, lecturing that it would not be fair to report on his "informal" deliberations. But he later forgot that concern and held the sheet in plain view of a flock of reporters outside the hearing room.

I asked him whose electoral concerns he was looking after. Lowery insisted vaguely that the hot debate over drilling off of California was "something that all public officials, elected officials, are cognizant of."

There's no doubt about that. Lowery was representing a strong, bipartisan majority of the California delegation in dickering for the longest possible delay in preparations to drill of the state's coastline. But there is one Californian with a particular interest in delaying the drilling dispute until after next year's election — Republican Senator Pete Wilson, the party's candidate for governor.

"The last thing the Republicans want is for some major offshore oil event to fall a few months before Pete Wilson has to face the voters," noted a Democratic congressional aide.

Wilson has been as vehemently anti-drilling as anybody. But it will be embarrassing if George Bush — Wilson's close friend, fellow Republican and fellow Yalie — makes any major moves toward drilling as the campaign for governor wraps up next fall.

In the conference committee, Wilson's political ambitions never came up. Lowery argued instead that pre-leasing preparations should be delayed so that Californians would have ample time to "digest" the report that is due in January from President Bush's hand-picked task force on offshore drilling.

Pro-drilling senators have come to a grudging acceptance of the annual moratoria on drilling that Congress regularly enacts at the demand of the California congressional delegation. But they were peeved at this year's demand to go a step further and bar pre-leasing preparations as well.

"We did not fight the moratorium this year," fumed Senator Bennett Johnston, a Louisiana Democrat. "We had done so in the past, and we did not do so. For one thing, the [Exxon Valdez oil spill off of Alaska] had just taken place and there was a hysteria abroad in the land.

"We thought, 'what the hell, let it go this time. Let them declare victory,' " Johnston said of the California delegation. "The problem is they want a 110 percent victory. They want not only to have a moratorium. They want you to not even think about drilling."

In the end, the conference committee agreed to delay pre-drilling preparations off of California until next June. What with normal bureaucratic delays, environmentalist lawsuits and the like, that should still be sufficient to postpone action until "post-election."

On another environmental front concerning California, things are starting to happen on Democratic Senator Alan Cranston's long-stalled bill to restrict the use of almost 8 million acres of the California desert. Since Cranston first introduced the environmentalist measure in 1986, opponents of the bill had refused to talk compromise. One reason they have started to budge lately is that Arkansas' Democratic Senator Dale Bumpers, chairman of the Senate parks subcommittee, has warned he will simply move ahead with Cranston's bill unless its critics offer some alternative.

IN RESPONSE, CONGRESSMEN REPRESENTING desert districts, where residents tend to favor developmental and recreational over environmental restrictions, have offered a far more modest measure to protect two million acres of the desert. Theirs is a watered-down version of a desert protection plan that was written by the pro-development Bureau of Land Management.

Wilson, who has opposed Cranston's bill but refused to offer his own, now says, "Somewhere between what Senator Cranston proposes and what the BLM has proposed is the answer, but I don't think we should be rushed to judgment."

Larry Liebert is the Washington correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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